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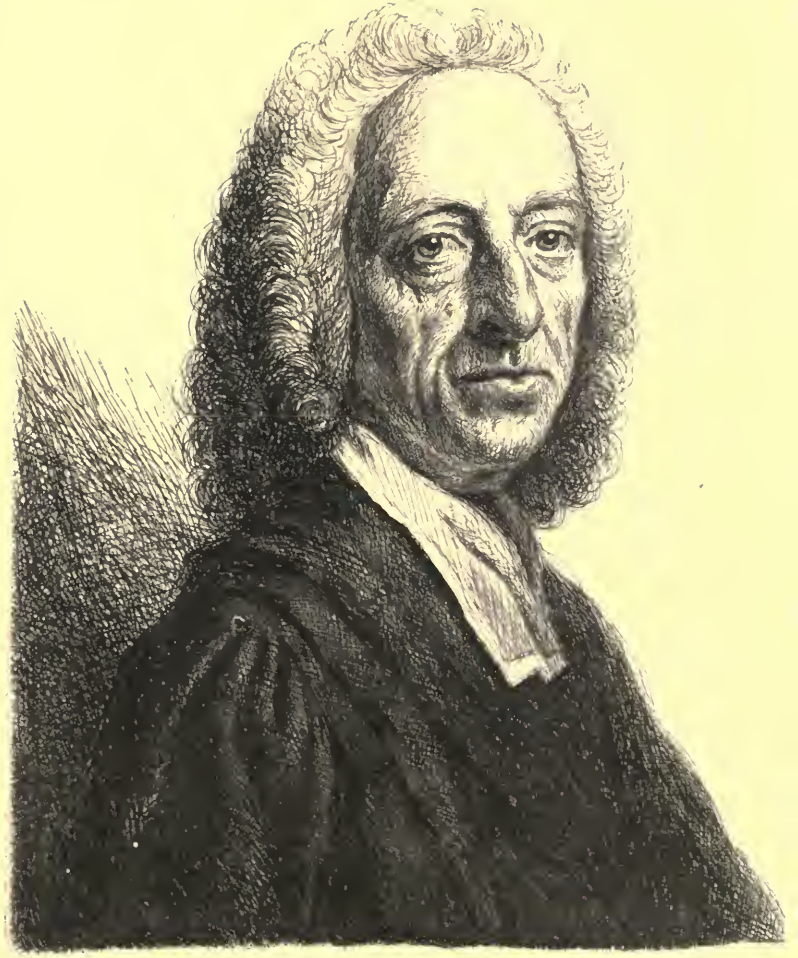

B. Wilson Fecit 1753

The Rev.d Mr. William Whiston

(Born 9 Decem.r 1667 Died Aug.t 22.d 1752.)

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE and WRITINGS

OF

Mr. WILLIAM WHISTON.

CONTAINING,

MEMOIRS

OF

Several of his FRIENDS alſo.

WRITTEN by HIMSELF.

The SECOND EDITION, Corrected.

Ne quid falſi dicere audeat :
Ne quid veri non audeat.

LONDON :

Printed for J. WHISTON and B. WHITE, in *Fleet-ſtreet.*
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PREFACE.

THE *first edition of these* Memoirs, *which were published by the Author himself in* 1748, *being entirely sold off, and the demand still continuing, it was thought proper to reprint them; not only as they contain the Author's last corrections to several of his works, but as many particulars, of an historical nature, are interwoven in these* Memoirs, *which deserve to be preserved and handed down to posterity. The strict integrity and sincerity of the Author, were probably the strongest motives for the favourable Reception which the publick have given to these* Memoirs; *and those will rather encrease, than be diminished by time. For as personal prejudices die away, the character of the writer will be more highly and justly esteemed. This edition is printed from the former very carefully, with those alterations and corrections disposed in their proper places, which the Author, upon his revisal of the work, had thrown together at the end of the former edition. But it was thought proper to omit entirely three Tracts, which*

were

were printed in the former edition in the body of the work, chiefly becauſe each of them may be had ſeparately for a ſmall price, and alſo not to oblige the Purchaſer to buy over again what he may already have. The Tracts omitted are as follows.

I. A ſerious addreſs to the Baptiſts.

II. An argument in defence of Diſſenter's Ordination.

III. Preface to the Liturgy of the church of *England*, reduced nearer the primitive ſtandard.

The pious author, full of years and good works, died after a week's illneſs, Auguſt 22, 1752, *aged* 84 *years*, 8 *months and* 13 *days*; *and was buried near that excellent woman, his wife, who died in* January, 1750-1, *at* Lyndon, *in* Rutland.

MEMOIRS

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OF THE

LIFE and WRITINGS

OF

Mr. WILLIAM WHISTON.

I *WILLIAM WHISTON* * was born at *Norton juxta Twycroſſe*, in the county of *Leiceſter*, upon *December* 9. *A. D.* 1667. O. S. My father was *Joſiah Whiſton*, rector of the ſame place, who married the daughter of *Gabriel Roſſe*, the former incumbent; whoſe curate he had been, and was ſo fortunate as to ſucceed him, of which *Gabriel Roſſe*, my grandfather, who was rector of *Norton* near fifty years, and lived to

* The reader is to obſerve, that the intire hiſtories of Mr. Whiston's proſecution at the univerſity of *Cambridge*; with his baniſhment thence; of his deprivation of the mathematic profeſſorſhip there, and of the profits thereof; with the con-

eighty-ſeven or eighty-eight years of age, I remember to have heard theſe few things only, *viz.* That he was under the famous *Camden*, ſecond maſter of *Weſtminſter* ſchool; that he refuſed to read king *Charles*'s *Book of Sports* on the lord's day; however, when he heard he was beheaded, he fell a weeping; and that in his very old age, when he went to bed he uſed to ſay; *I go to my bed as to my grave.* Now my father had been admitted into *Queen*'s *college*, *Oxford*, tho' he did not I believe ſtay there long. He had been approved by *Peter Watkinſon*, moderator, and ſeven others of the claſſical preſbytery at *Wirkſworth*, in the province of *Derby*, and ordained a preaching preſbyter *June* 21, 1653, by faſting, and prayer, and impoſition of hands. He was after the reſtoration kept in his living of *Norton* by the favour and intereſt of Mr. *Merrey*, his great friend of *Gopſhill*, in his neighbourhood; and was inſtituted into that living by biſhop *Sanderſon*, *November* 9, 1661. He was married to Mrs. *Katherine Roſſe*, *May* 13, 1657, by Mr. *Francis Shute*, a juſtice of peace at *Upton*; as was the practice at that time. The originals of all which inſtruments I have now by me. However, ſince there is ſomewhat very remarkable relating to my father, in a note I lately made upon a paſſage in Sir *William Dugdale*'s *Short View of the late Troubles of* England, *page* 473, I ſhall here add that note. He there ſets down my father's name in a liſt of clergymen of the county of *Leiceſter*, that addreſs'd

ſure of his notions by the convocation; and his proſecution before the court of Delegates, and its upſhot are here omitted; as already at large publiſhed after his *Hiſtorical Preface*, prefixed to the firſt of his four Volumes of PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY REVIVED, with ſome additions there; and at the end of the Vth Volume. Where the reader will find compleat accounts of them all. See alſo the MEMOIRS of Dr. CLARK's Life. per tot. and many other places of his writings hereafter ſpecified.

addreſs'd the parliament. Upon which my note was as follows.

N. B. This *Joſiah Whiſton* was my father, and at this time 1659, become ſucceſſor to my grandfather, Mr. *Gabriel Roſs*; who died *October* 19. *A. D.* 1658. When I as his amanuenſis (for he had himſelf loſt his ſight ſeveral years before his death) read the catalogue of ſubſcribers, he was prodigiouſly uneaſy at his name being in it. His account to me was this: that when ſome apparitor or meſſenger came from thoſe at the helm to obtain the ſubſcription, he was very unwilling to comply. He ſaid, he lived privately, and endeavoured to do his own duty without intermeddling with the affairs of ſtate, and ſo earneſtly deſired to be excuſed. But the apparitor or meſſenger would admit of no excuſe, and told him, that if he refuſed, his name muſt be put into the roll of refuſers, or into his black book, to be ſeen by thoſe in authority. The conſequence of which my father ſo dreaded, that he did at laſt ſubſcribe; but deeply repented it all the days of his life, and upon his death-bed alſo. Nay, I believe he kept the 30th of *January* [the anniverſary day of humiliation for the death of king *Charles* I.] more ſolemnly, as a religious faſt, than any other clergyman in *England*, every year till the day of his death, *A. D.* 1685. He alſo wrote a book, though never publiſhed, againſt the lawfulneſs of that war; which I have now by me, under his own hand, in manuſcript, and a better copy of which, as I take it, the late Sir *John Harpur* had. My copy begins with this declaration, That his doubts about the lawfulneſs of that war began this very year 1659, and informs us, that "this manuſcript was begun *January* 11, "and finiſhed *February* 19, 1665, 1666." His brother, Mr. *Joſeph Whiſton*, of *Lewes*, in *Suſſex*, a very pious diſſenter, that wrote ſeveral books for

infant baptiſm [an account of whoſe religious death I have now by me] had been chaplain to colonel *Harriſon*, one of the regicides. To whom my father made me write long letters, to convince him of the unlawfulneſs of that war: (a copy of one of which letters I have ſtill by me) but all in vain. Their differences in opinion however did not break their brotherly friendſhip, as appeared by his leaving what he had amongſt us, his brother's children, when he died. All this I atteſt, *April* 25, 1746. But before I proceed to my own hiſtory, I cannot omit to mention the relations that came to my father at *Norton*, when I was but a child under ten years of age, concerning that wonderful and undeniable inſtance of the puniſhment of one *John Duncalf* of *Kings Swinford*, about thirty miles from us in *Staffordſhire*; of which I well remember we had ſeveral atteſtations at the very time, either from eye and ear-witneſſes, or thoſe who had ſpoken with eye and ear-witneſſes. This *John Duncalf* had curſed himſelf, upon his ſtealing a bible, and had wiſhed, that if he ſtole it, his hands might rot off, before he died; which proved moſt true, and moſt affecting to the whole country and neighbourhood. A juſt account of which, after many years, I have very lately read; and find all things therein related as I remember I heard then at that time. The exact narrative itſelf, written by Mr. *Illingworth*, and the judicious ſermon that accompanies it, preached by Dr. *Ford*, are now before me; and ought, in this ſceptical age, to be reprinted, and recommended to all, who either deny, or doubt of the interpoſition of a particular divine providence ſometimes, for the puniſhment of notorious wicked men, even in theſe laſt days. And I am, and have long been, of the great lord *Verulam*'s opinion, here juſtly referred to by Dr. *Ford*, page 52, who takes notice of it as a defect in the hiſtorical part of

of learning, that there is not extant an impartial and well-atteſted *Hiſtoria Nemeſios*, as he calls it; An account of the moſt remarkable judgments of God upon the wicked, and complains of it accordingly.

Now, ſince two remarkable things happened to me before, and when I went to ſchool, which was *A. D.* 1684, I ſhall here relate them. The firſt belonged to my grandmother, Mrs. *Roſſe*, who then lived upon a ſmall eſtate of her own at *Ratcliffe*, three miles from us at *Norton*; but ſtill had her coffin at our houſe many years. About the year 1680, we heard ſhe was ſick, and ſo we might have ſome apprehenſions, that, ſhe being of a great age, this ſickneſs might be fatal to her: tho' I do not remember any particular tokens of her end approaching. However, at this time I had one night a melancholy dream, and thought I ſaw very diſtinctly her funeral go along by the ſide of her rails to *Ratcliffe* church-yard, in a ſolemn manner. After which I awaked, and was comforting myſelf, that all this was but a dream, and my grandmother might ſtill recover. At which time I heard a lumbring noiſe about the place where her coffin was; and inquiring what was the matter, the anſwer was, that my grandmother was dead, and they were come for her coffin.

The ſecond very remarkable thing that happened then to me, was before my going to *Tamworth* ſchool, *A. D.* 1684. At *Whitſontide*, my mother went with me to *Swepſton* (my father wanting his ſight) to our neighbour and friend Dr. *Grey*, rector of that place, which was but two miles from *Norton*. He had his ſecond ſon, Mr. *Grey*, then under the care of Mr. *George Antrobus*, at *Tamworth*: whither I was to go ſoon after the holidays were over; whilſt that ſon of Dr. *Grey*'s was, during the holidays, at *Swepſton*, with his father. With

whom I now aimed to contract an acquaintance before I went to *Tamworth:* accordingly we were that day very familiar together, and hoped to be ſo ever afterward. Mr. *Grey*, in the evening, was ſo complaiſant as to conduct my mother and myſelf part of the way to *Snareſton*, which lay in our way to *Norton*. At length we parted; and we went up a ſmall aſcent one way, as he went back a greater aſcent the other. At which juncture a ſtrong foreboding impreſſion came upon me, from no foundation that I know of, that I ſhould never ſee him more: which made me look backward upon him ſeveral times: tho' I endeavoured to put ſuch a diſagreeable thought out of my mind. Upon Mr. *Grey*'s going back to ſchool, before I was ready to go, he fell ill of the ſmall-pox at ſchool. This affrighted me, and made me earneſtly deſire to be ſent to *Tamworth* immediately, that when I had once ſeen him alive (for I had already had the ſmall-pox myſelf) the foreboding impreſſion might be over. However, it ſo proved, that either my father's horſes, or ſervants were out of the way; or ſome other impediment hinder'd my going ſo long, that he was dead before I came to ſchool, and the other ſcholars had made elegies upon his death; ſo that, according to this my ſtrange impreſſion, I never did ſee him more. Which accident greatly affected me at that time.

Several other relations of this nature, I mean, relating to the inviſible world, I have made ſtrict inquiry about, and collected ſome myſelf in the courſe of my life; and have frequently been intirely ſatisfied of their truth and reality. But becauſe they were not of my own original knowledge, I rather reſerve them till ſome other ſober and judicious perſon ſhall make an authentic collection of ſuch relations of that nature, as may have ſufficient vouchers, and may be both to my own ſatisfaction, and

and to the public benefit; when I ſhall be ready to communicate my relations to the authors of ſuch collection.

And here it may not be amiſs to take notice, how excellent a paſtor of a pariſh my father was, even after the loſs of his ſight; his great infirmities of body; and his lameneſs: nay, even when, for about ſix weeks, his hearing was almoſt intirely loſt alſo. During which times, he ſtill continued officiating and preaching twice every Lord's-Day. He alſo, before his want of ſight hindered him, uſed to go yearly to the ſeveral families in his pariſh, to catechiſe the children, and inſtruct, or if occaſion was, to reprove the grown perſons, in a free and familiar manner: and particularly, to fit the younger perſons four times in the year for their firſt communion. Which method he alſo continued when he had loſt his ſight, with only this difference, that he ſent for the ſeveral families to his own houſe for the ſame purpoſes. Nor was there any more than one family which refuſed to come. The maſter of which family was afterward ſo ſenſible of the good influence of ſuch private inſtructions, that when I once came into that country, and, as uſual, gave the pariſhioners of *Norton* a ſermon, he lamented to me the negligence of the incumbents, after my father's death; and complained, that ſince that time, they could not govern their children and ſervants as they did before, and would I thought have gone down on his knees, that I might have had the living, and done as he did.

My father chiefly depended on Dr. *Hammond*'s Paraphraſe and Notes on the *New Teſtament*, (who was ten years rector of that very pariſh of *Penſehurſt* in *Kent*, which I was offered about ſix years ago;) which work I uſed to read to him, and which work was in thoſe days the great ſtandard of the ſenſe of the text among the middle ſort of our divines, nay, almoſt

almoſt among all the preachers of the church of *England*; till at laſt *Grotius*'s reputation greatly prevailed againſt his, and generally againſt that of all our other commentators. Altho' I cannot but ſay, that how great ſoever Dr. *Hammond*'s reputation was with me, when I was young, and *Grotius*'s and biſhop *Patrick*'s, *&c.* when I was of middle age; yet in the laſt thirty years, I have diſcovered ſo much greater light, by the moſt frequent peruſal of the two or three firſt centuries of chriſtianity, and by a cloſe attention to originals, that I cannot but look upon all ſuch commentaries as at preſent much leſs conſiderable. But this by the way only.

My father performed all parochial duties himſelf; in ſaying the prayers, pſalms, and leſſons, and preaching every Lord's Day twice, and adminiſtring both Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper by heart. (To which laſt he admitted me at fourteen years of age) excepting the office of matrimony, which he left to others. Nor did this extraordinary diligence in his function pleaſe ſeveral of his neighbouring clergy: Who, as uſual, thought it to be, as it really was, a *tacit*, but ſevere reproof of their own negligence. As to which excellent character, I have now by me an original petition of the pariſhioners of *Norton* and neighbouring gentry, to the Lord Protector, before the death of Mr. *Gabriel Roſſe*, his father-in law, who was then about eighty-ſeven, to beg of him not to ſuffer Mr. *Whiſton* to be taken from them, when Mr. *Roſſe* ſhould die, as they were greatly afraid he ſhould be. Tho' I ſuppoſe the petition was never preſented: the reaſon of which I do not know. I alſo remember what my father told me; that after the reſtoration, almoſt all profeſſion of ſerioufneſs in religion would have been laughed out of countenance, under pretence of the hypocriſy of the former times, had not two very excellent

excellent and ſerious books, written by eminent Royaliſts, put ſome ſtop to it: I mean *The whole Duty of Man*; and Dr. *Hammond*'s *Practical Catechiſm:* (The latter of which I ſometimes read in evenings to my pupils, when I was a tutor.) I alſo remember his obſervation on Mr. *Hoard*'s book concerning *God's Love to Mankind*, as the firſt that began to ſet aſide the *Calviniſts* unhappy ſcheme of election and reprobation in *England*, which till then was the current opinion of the members of the church of *England*, as it is ſtill the doctrine of her thirty-nine articles.

I farther remember, that when the *bill* for the *excluſion* of the duke of *York* was in agitation, my father was ſo fearful of popery, that he *wiſhed* ſuch a bill were lawful: but did not think it was ſo. Which fear of popery had ſo great an influence upon him, that it had almoſt prevented his conſent to my being bread a ſcholar, in order to my being a clergyman; which yet he greatly deſired; for fear the popiſh religion ſhould come in, and I ſhould become a popiſh prieſt: againſt which religion I had then read ſo many proteſtant books, that I was in very little danger of ever embracing it.

I remember alſo, that ſome time before his death, great numbers of *French* refugees came over hither, at the revocation of the edict of *Nantz*, 1685. This ſo greatly affected him, that conſidering them as confeſſors for religion, as they really were, he preached ſeveral ſermons to his ſmall pariſh, to excite them to an uncommon liberality on that occaſion. In particular, he told them from the pulpit, which I myſelf heard, that he intended himſelf to give them ſix pounds. By which means I believe the pariſh of *Norton* made up a greater ſum than perhaps any other in the kingdom, of no larger wealth and magnitude.

Now

Now it ought here to be mentioned, that my father was acquainted with that moſt eminent *diſſenter* and moſt vigilant paſtor, Mr. *Richard Baxter*, and had a great eſteem for him, and his practical writings: inſomuch that he cauſed me to learn his ſmall catechiſm, of xii articles by heart. And certainly, as Mr. *Baxter* put a great ſtop to the folly of the *Antinomians*, who in the times of anarchy were ready to over-ſet the majority of weak, but zealous chriſtians; ſo, had he been as well verſed in the original writers of the two or three firſt centuries, as he was in the ſchoolmen, his parts were ſo conſiderable, that he afforded very great light to the chriſtian world. Nor indeed by the by, could I ever prevail with myſelf to preach againſt our *diſſenters*, even when my principles were very different from theirs; on account of that ſeriouſneſs of piety, which I found in many of them. Nor do I at this day approve of one party of chriſtians preaching againſt another, where they are not allowed to plead for themſelves; but think they had better all of them look into their own errors, and leave them; and all of them unite upon the only wiſe foundation, the original ſettlements of primitive chriſtianity.

As to my father's death, it was after a moſt chriſtian manner. For when he ſaw it approaching, he ſaid, *he was not afraid to die.* And calling for us his children, he gave us all a ſolemn charge for leading a religious life, and caution'd us not to meet him at the day of judgment in an unregenerate ſtate; and then ſolemnly prayed with us, and for us. A few hours after which, he ſlept in the Lord, the beginning of *January*, 1685-6, in the 63d year of his age, and lies buried in the chancel of *Norton:* with only this original inſcription, now worn our, *Depoſitum Joſiæ Whiſton, hujus Eccleſiæ Rectoris*, and had his funeral ſermon preached by Dr. *Grey*.

As

As to my mother, *Katherine Roſſe*, the youngeſt child of Mr. *Gabriel Roſſe*, ſhe was baptized *January* 19, 1639-40, and died *December* 1, 1701, at near 62 years of age. She was a very good, ſincere, religious woman, who took great care of her huſband under all his infirmities, and of us, a numerous family of children. We had been ten in all; but ſix ſons and one daughter lived to be grown men and women. The youngeſt of whom, *Daniel* by name, beſides myſelf, is ſtill alive, and is ſtill no more than a curate at *Somerſham*, under the *Regius* Profeſſor of Divinity of the univerſity of *Cambridge:* his ſincerity obliging him not to ſign the 39 Articles for farther preferments, and never to read the *Athanaſian* Creed: For refuſal to read which he was once in danger of expulſion from his curacy. But by Dr. *Clarke*'s interpoſition with a noble peer in that neighbourhood, it was prevented. He has, I believe, compoſed more ſermons, and thoſe not bad ones, than any other clergyman in *England*; I have heard him ſay, above 3000 in number. But his principal and moſt uſeful work is, his *Primitive Catechiſm*; which, when I had myſelf greatly approved and improved, I publiſh'd under the title of a *Preſbyter of the Church of* England, and ſtill inſert it among the catalogue of my own writings, as I have long made uſe of it, and of it only in my *Catechetic Inſtructions*, inſtead of our other more modern compoſitions, which ſeem to me quite inferior to this, as it is wholly taken out of the *Bible*, and the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions:* but what opinion my brother had of thoſe *Conſtitutions*, I ſhall here give the reader in his own words, taken out of his letter to me, not dated, but written about *A. D.* 1705, as follows:

Dear

Dear Brother,

" I having lately read over the *Conſtitutions* with " a deſign of putting them in practice, as far as " they appear either clear in themſelves, or agree- " able to the other more unconteſted ſcriptures, " deſire you wou'd be pleas'd to give me your " opinion touching theſe few difficulties, which " have occurr'd in the reading thereof. I do not " intend hereby, as if I wou'd attempt any alte- " ration in the public offices of the church, any " farther than by the bare omiſſion of thoſe forms, " which I conceive to be directly repugnant to the " word of God; becauſe indeed theſe very *Con-* " *ſtitutions*, which do ſo directly condemn ſome " of thoſe forms, do at the ſame time ſtrictly " enjoin a conformity to the injunctions of the " biſhops; even of thoſe ſpiritual guides, without " whoſe direction, we of the inferiour clergy are " required not to do any thing of moment, eſpe- " cially not in the public offices of the church: " my duty I conceive with reſpect to them, is " earneſtly to pray to God, which I never omit to " do, That he wou'd ſo guide and govern the " biſhops and paſtors of his church, that we may " by their means be led into all neceſſary truth; " particularly, which is the ſincere deſire of my " ſoul, that he would be pleaſed to remove their " prejudices, and open the eyes of their under- " ſtanding, that they may reſtore to us that ancient " and truly pious form of worſhip contain'd in " the *Conſtitutions:* in reſpect of which, in my " humble opinion, eſpecially as to that divine office " of the Euchariſt, nothing can be ſaid to be either " equal or comparable to it. The great plainneſs " and eaſineſs of the ſtyle, the piety, ardor, and " even ecſtacy of devotion therein contain'd, and

" if

" if any thing can be yet added to it, the amazing " and comprehenſive view of providence through " all the periods of the world therein ſet forth, do " all beſpeak it to be of divine original. There " are indeed ſome difficulties in ſeveral parts of the " *Conſtitution*, which highly deſerve to be con- " ſider'd and clear'd: this however I need not " ſcruple to affirm, that I, who have read them " more with a practical than a curious eye, have " not found the tenth part of the difficulties in " them, either in reſpect of faith or practice, as I " do, when I read over the other unconteſted books " of the *New Teſtament* with the like view: they " being indeed more conſiſtent with themſelves, " and with the other books of the *New Teſtament*, " than the ſaid books have ever appear'd to me to " be, eſpecially if they are conſider'd without that " great light and aſſiſtance, which even the *Con-* " *ſtitutions* now give us both in explaining and re- " conciling them to each other, *&c.*

Your loving and affectionate brother,

Daniel Whiſton.

" Pray inform me, what ſtate Primitive Chri- " ſtianity is in, and whether upon this great turn " of affairs, there are no hopes of having its " claim heard."

I come now to myſelf, and theſe Memoirs of my own Life: And to give the reaſons why I write it at all, and eſpecially, why I write it now. The occa- ſions of which are as follow. About the middle of laſt *May*, 1746, came to me in *London* an *Hanoverian* ſcholar, that had been three quarters of a year in *England*, and ſpake *Engliſh* very well. His particular buſineſs with me was, to deſire me to reviſe

reviſe and improve a ſhort account of Mr. *Humphrey Ditton*, who, as they knew in *Germany*, had been my intimate friend. This was deſigned to be ſet before his very excellent work concerning our Saviour's *Reſurrection*, which was, it ſeems, already tranſlated into the *German* tongue, and was going to be there publiſh'd. When this ſhort account was ſhewed me in *Engliſh*, I peruſed it, and found no ſmall parts of it to be falſe; and ſo I was forced to write it almoſt all new, with this title, *Mr.* Whiſton's *Account* of Mr. *Humphrey Ditton*, which I hear they will tranſlate, and prefix to the *German* edition of that book. About a week afterward came another *Hanoverian* ſcholar to me, and deſired me to write my own life: For he ſaid, that alſo had been written in *Germany*; but, as was now found, with ſeveral falſities likewiſe. My anſwer was, that though I had been long ago put upon this, I had not hitherto inclined to do it; yet rather than go down to poſterity with ſuch falſities, perhaps I might ſet about it; as I did immediately.

Now I was from my youth brought up with a religious education, and under deep impreſſions of piety; and in the diligent ſtudy of the ſcriptures, and was no other than my father's amanuenſis for ſome years. During which time, in 1682, Sir *John Moor* (who was born at my native town of *Norton*, of *Charles Moor*, huſbandman, and *Cicely* his wife, and baptized there *June* 11, 1620) was become lord-mayor of *London*. Upon which, my father thought it a very fit thing for the miniſter and inhabitants of *Norton* to preſent an addreſs of congratulation to his lordſhip in his high ſtation; with a deſire, that he would, in ſome way or other, as he pleaſed, remember the place of his nativity. Which propoſal, when the inhabitants readily complied with, Mr. *Swinfen*, one of the ſecluded members of the long parliament, at my father's requeſt,

requeſt, drew us up a form of ſuch an addreſs; which I remember I copied out, and a writing-maſter of *Tamworth* engroſſed fair for us; and Sir *Edward Abney* of *Willeſley*, the father of the late Sir *Thomas Abney*, one of the juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*, preſented it to the lord-mayor, who at firſt ſeemed to neglect it; but afterwards remember'd it effectually, when he built and liberally endowed that noble ſchool at *Appleby*, but a mile from *Norton*, whither his relations were removed; and made *Norton* free of it, which will ſtand as a memorial of my father's care of *Norton*, and of the generoſity of Sir *John Moor*, by that donation, as the whole country's great benefactor.

In the year 1684, I was ſent by my father to *Tamworth*, to that excellent ſchool-maſter Mr. *George Antrobus*, one of whoſe daughters I afterward married; who, with Mr. *Samuel Langley*, the vigilant paſtor of that large pariſh, were great bleſſings to the ſame, and in intimate friendſhip with one another. Whether it was my want of exerciſe when I was my father's amanuenſis, and my long attendance both morning and afternoon on my father at home, while he learned the chapters, *&c.* for the Lord's Days; or whether it aroſe from my original *Stamina vitæ*, I have been a valetudinarian, and greatly ſubject to the *Flatus Hypochondriaci* in various ſhapes all my life long, although old age, temperance, abſtinence, and very great exerciſe, have made it a great deal eaſier to me now for many years. My principal comfort was from my innocence, and was always this, that whenever it pleaſes God to take me from this miſerable and uneaſy world, I verily hope and truſt, I ſhall go into the boſom of *Abraham*, into *Paradiſe*, and be happier there than I can expect to be in this world.

Now, to prove what was the ſtate of my indiſpoſition at that time of my life, take one example. When I was become ſo vapoured and timorous at home, that I was ready to faint away if I did but go a few ſtones caſt from our own houſe, my father obſerved it; and fearing the increaſe of that diſtemper, and its bad conſequences in my future life, he forced me to walk with our clerk, *John Flavell*, four miles on a froſty morning, to my uncle *Simmond*'s at *Atherſton*; which force was yet the kindeſt thing he could do to me. Accordingly, when I found myſelf pretty well, both on my journey and return, I began to take a little more courage; and that degree of melancholy wore off, though a leſſer degree of it always has, and I ſuppoſe always will, continue with me all the days of my life.

And now, finding in my note-book ſome account of the greateſt froſt that has happened all my life-time, *A. D.* 1683-4, I ſhall ſet that account down here, nearly in the words I then wrote it, though ſomewhat ſhortened.

About *November* 26, 1683, began in good earneſt a very great froſt; but it began to be more ſenſibly extraordinary about *December* 23. It was ſomewhat more moderate a day or two in *Chriſtmas*, yet during the reſt of thoſe days it was exceſſive ſharp, inſomuch that, in a ſingle night, it froze two inches and a quarter or half. About *January* 9th or 10th, 1683-4, it began to thaw for a day or two; but about the 13th or 14th it froze again a little for ſome days. But from about the 21ſt to the 26th, it froze exceeding hard; and, on the 30th [the ſolemn faſt, which my father then kept for the murder of king *Charles*] and 31ſt, it froze the hardeſt of all; in ſome places three inches or more in one night. [This account, taken and written when

when I was but ſixteen Years of age, may be compared with others taken by thoſe at riper Years.]

Now before my going to *Tamworth* ſchool, 1684, I had learned of my father at home ſo far as he could well teach me without his eye-ſight; ſo that after a bare year and three quarters ſtay there, I was about the middle of the year 1686, admitted of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*, where I earneſtly purſued my ſtudies, and particularly the mathematicks, eight hours in a day, till the year 1693.

However, in the year 1685 there was ſo extraordinary a criſis of the proteſtant religion, as well deſerves to be mentioned here: Inſomuch that, as biſhop *Burnet* partly implies, but Mr. *Arthur Onſlow* more diſtinctly informs me, it once depended on a ſingle vote in the houſe of commons, whether king *James* ſhould be permitted to employ popiſh officers in his army or not: which point, had he gained, there was viſibly an end of the publick eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant religion in this kingdom. It came, as I ſaid, to a ſingle vote; and a courtier, who was to watch every voter where the member had any employment under the king, obſerved one that had a regiment going to vote againſt the court; and ſeeing him, put him warmly in mind of his regiment. He made anſwer, "my "brother died laſt night, and has left me 700 *l.* a "year;" which ſingle vote gained a majority, and ſaved the proteſtant religion at this time. If I might uſe an heathen expreſſion in a caſe belonging to chriſtianity, I would ſay, *Non hoc ſine numine divûm.*

Now during this time, and while I was undergraduate, an accident happened to me, which may deſerve to be here related, for the caution and benefit of others in the like circumſtances. I one ſummer obſerved, that my eyes did not ſee as uſual, but dazzled after an aukward manner. Upon

which, I imagined this might arise only from my too much application to my studies; and I thought proper to abate of that application for a fort-night, in hopes of recovering my usual sight by walking, during that time, much abroad in the green grass and green fields; but found myself disappointed: which occasioned some terror to me, especially because of my father's loss of sight before. At this time I met with an account, either in conversation, or writing, that Mr. *Boyle* had known of a person who had new whited the wall of his study or chamber, upon which the sun shone, and used to read in that glaring light, and thereby lost his sight for a time, till upon hanging the place where he studied with green, he recovered it again; which was exactly my own case, in a less degree, both as to the cause and the remedy. For I and my chamber-fellow had newly-whitened our room, into which almost all the afternoon the sun shone, and where I used to read. I therefore retired to my study, and hung it with green, by which means I recovered my usual sight, which, God be praised, is hardly worse now, that I perceive, at fourscore years of age, than it was in my youthful days.

During the same time, while I was an under graduate in the reign of king *James* II. and, in the year 1688, I went with the senior fellow of our college, Dr. *Nathaniel Vincent*, into *Norfolk*, on account of my health. It was near the end of *May*, and when we came thither the doctor found that he was put up to preach at the cathedral of *Norwich* upon *May* 29, the solemnity for the restoration. Now the doctor was known to be a great friend of king *James*'s, and perhaps hoped to be made a bishop by him; which is sufficient for understanding his temper and principles; and this at a time when the body of the protestants, and the university in particular, were in very great dread of popery, and

and were thereby become much more ſerious in religion, much more ſedulous in attending divine ſervice, and much more charitable and friendly to diſſenters than formerly. [And happy, thrice happy ſhould I have thought this unhappy nation now, if, upon our late fears of the pretender and of popery, we had been brought into the ſame excellent temper. But, alas! alas!] When Dr. *Vincent* found himſelf in theſe circumſtances, and unprovided of a compleat ſermon ſuitable to the occaſion, he found, however, that he had ſome notes with him that might aſſiſt him in a new compoſition. He made me therefore his amanuenſis for many hours, where we then were, and ſo compleated his ſermon. His text was, *Rebellion is as the ſin of witchcraft*, 1 Sam. xv. 23. Which he, as is uſual, underſtood of the rebellion of ſubjects againſt their kings; whereas it was meant, moſt evidently, of king *Saul*'s rebellion againſt Almighty God, who had made him king. We then dined at the biſhop's, Dr. *Lloyd*'s palace, who was in great reputation at that time, and proved to be one of the nonjuring biſhops afterward. The next Lord's Day, there was ſo excellent a ſermon preached at the ſame cathedral, by a clergyman, to me unknown; but, by his hood, ſeemed to be a doctor of divinity; I now ſuppoſe it was Dr. *Prideaux*, and ſo directly fitted the unhappy circumſtances we were then in, the imminent danger of popery and perſecution, that we, the hearers, were prodigiouſly attentive to it, and deeply affected by it. The ſubject was, *The proper Preparations of a Chriſtian for Times of Perſecution.* [Almoſt like biſhop *Sherlock*'s moſt excellent ſermon at *Saliſbury* laſt *October*, which I have ſince republiſhed, with additions of my own] yet with ſuch caution, that, though we well knew the preacher's meaning, no handle was given for any accuſation at court; only

ſo far we were adviſed, that, if danger ſhould approach, we ſhould hold faſt to our [proteſtant] biſhops, as the moſt likely way to eſcape the dangers we might be in. I hardly ever in my life ſaw ſuch an impreſſion made by a ſermon, as was made by this, on any audience. We were then for certain in earneſt, and had, I believe, very little regard to Dr. *Vincent*'s court-ſermon juſt before (as ſuch ſermons generally deſerve no better): However, it ſoon happened, that the prince of *Orange* came to our deliverance, and the *Cambridge* mob got up, and ſeized Dr. *Watſon*, the biſhop of St. *David*'s, of much the ſame character with Dr. *Vincent*, and threatened Dr. *Vincent* himſelf; who thereupon thought of ſaving himſelf by going out of the college for awhile: Accordingly, he called for me, as then his ſizor, to aſſiſt him in preparing for his removal. But what may be here moſt worth mentioning is this, that I happened, by inadvertency, to overthrow his ſalt towards himſelf at ſupper: Which put him into a great concern; and made him ſay very ſolemnly, that "It would be a ſad "completion of this omen, if they ſhould find him "dead in his bed the next morning:" To which no reply was made. Yet was this ſo far from being accompliſhed, that the doctor lived a great many years after it: So vain are the pretended ſignals of this ſuperſtitious nature. Tho' the affrightment they may cauſe in melancholy perſons may be ſometimes really miſchievous to them.

In my note-book I find about this time the following *memorandum*.

Sept. 1, 1687. Dr. *Henry More* of *Chriſt's-College* died; and was buried by torch-light the third day, being *ſunday*. His laſt words, as I heard, were theſe, or to this effect: calling his nurſe, he ſaid to her, nurſe, I am going a long journey, where I ſhall change theſe for better poſ-

ſeſſions;

ſeſſions; and ſo preſently departed. *Sic Obijt Divinus ille Philoſophus Cantabrigienſis: Extinctus amabitur idem.*

Nor can I well mention this Dr. *Henry More*, without the mention of his prodigious admirer and executor, Dr. *Davies* of *Haidon*; who was one of my beſt friends when I was baniſhed the univerſity; and whoſe brother-in-law, Mr. *Ward*, was alſo my very good friend, and Dr. *More*'s great admirer, and wrote his life very well. I ſhould digreſs too much, if I ſhould go on with theſe two very valuable clergymen's characters, and charitable endeavours; one thing only I ſhall mention of Dr. *Davies*; that when ſo early I and another chriſtian friend found great fault with his reading the *Athanaſian* creed, of which he was no admirer, he ſaid in excuſe, that he read it only *as he would read Greek* to his *Engliſh* congregation. However, we ſo ſatisfied him of the impropriety of reading it, that he promiſed us to read it no more. But to return to my own hiſtory.

I was admitted of *Clare-Hall*, *Cambridge*, as I have already ſaid, about the middle of 1686, while a very ſmall part of the old college was ſtanding: tho' I queſtion whether any of it was ſtanding when I came to reſide, which was the *September* following. My father being now dead, we were all of us under the care of our mother the widow, whoſe comparative ſmall means for ſeven children, made it difficult for her to ſupport me there. And had the expences of a collegiate life been as extravagant then, as they are now come to be, or had I not lived as frugally as poſſible, ſhe would not have been able to have given me my degrees; eſpecially that of maſter of arts. In which the preſent of 5 *l.* from biſhop *More*, was then a kind and ſeaſonable addition; and partly an occaſion of my acceptance of the place of his

chaplain afterward. However, I find by my accounts ſtill preſerved, that tho' I was a penſioner for the laſt half year, yet did my whole expences for the three years and half, till my firſt degree incluſive, not amount to ſo much as 100*l.* See Dr. *Newton*'s very prudent pamphlet, called, *The Expence of Univerſity Education Reduc'd.* Soon after I was made fellow of *Clare-Hall*, I ſet up for a tutor there. And to encourage me in that employment, archbiſhop *Tillotſon* ſent his worthy chaplain Dr. *Barker*, who afterwards publiſh'd his works, to the univerſity; partly to perſuade the heads of colleges to take more than ordinary care of giving *Commendamus*'s for holy orders, and partly to bring his nephew Mr. *Tillotſon*, to be my pupil at *Clare-Hall.* An honour and advantage this at that time of life very conſiderable to me, had my ill health allowed me to go on in that way in the college. But as it did not, that excellent tutor Mr. *Richard Laughton*, my boſom friend, who was then chaplain to Dr. *More*, biſhop of *Norwich*, ſoon took my pupils, eleven in number, and I was kindly invited by the biſhop to be chaplain in his ſtead, which I accepted of. However, ſoon after the archbiſhop had ſent me his nephew, or in 1694, I waited upon him at *Lambeth.* And being at chapel there, with that deſign, I found biſhop *Burnet* there alſo; who, as I was told, had buſineſs with him. So that, upon ſome of the family's ſuggeſtion, I went away; intending in a few days to come again; but in thoſe few days the archbiſhop was dead. So very uncertain is human life! So that I did never converſe with him at all: Tho' I once heard him preach upon *New-Years Day*, 1688-9, one of his excellent ſermons at his lecture at *Laurence-Jury*; *Circumciſion is nothing, and Uncircumciſion is nothing, but the keeping of the Commandments of God*, 1 Cor. vii. 19.

However,

However, having had occaſion to mention the archbiſhop's chapel at *Lambeth*, give me leave to take notice how little courage both he and archbiſhop *Sharp* had in the rejection of that publick curſing of chriſtianity, the *Athanaſian Creed*, even as to their own cathedrals or chapels. For tho' it be well known how little they both approved this creed (ſee Dr. *Clarke*'s Life, 1ſt edit. page 81. and Mr. *Emlyn*'s Life, page 58.) yet does it no way appear that either of them had chriſtian courage enough to baniſh it out of thoſe places: however, ſince I have by me an authentic paper communicated by Dr. *Laughton*, which vindicates this excellent archbiſhop *Tillotſon* from ſome falſe reports, which had been told of him, altho' I formerly permitted it to be publiſh'd, yet ſhall I here repeat it. It runs thus, *verbatim*.

Mr. *Denton*'s Paper.

S I R,

" I have thus long deferr'd to return an anſwer " to your letter, about the late worthy archbiſhop " of *Canterbury*, becauſe I was deſirous to give " you as punctual an account as I could of thoſe " things laid to his charge in the libel. I have " found out two perſons, who, beſides myſelf, were " in *Clare-Hall* that ſummer, in which *Worceſter* " fight was, *viz.* Sir *Watkinſon Payler*, who was " a nobleman, and Mr. *James Mountain*, who " was fellow of the college; and if there had been " any ſuch alteration made by him in the college " graces, as the pamphlet mentions, ſurely ſome " of us who daily heard it read would have known " it; but thoſe perſons do profeſs, as I do, they " never knew, or heard of any ſuch thing done,

" or

" or attempted to be done, but do believe it to be " a malicious lie. I perceive I was miſtaken in " the time of his being made fellow, which (you " ſay) by the buttery-books appears to be ſome " time before *Worceſter* fight, and I muſt believe " that record before my memory at this diſtance " of time. I was alſo in the college when king " *Charles* I. paſſed by *Cambridge*, and whether " *Tillotſon* went to Sir *John Cuts*'s houſe, amongſt " ſeveral that did, I have forgotten, but I am " pretty confident the ſtory of his being denied " the honour to kiſs his majeſty's hand, is not " true; for I never heard of any ſuch thing, which " (if it had been ſo) I ſhould certainly have done, " if not from him, from ſome others, ſeveral of " my acquaintance being there. It is true, that " he had Dr. *Gunning*'s fellowſhip, but whether " by a *Mandamus*, or the college election, I cannot " certainly tell, but believe the latter; for when " he came into it, it was made void by the death " of one who had enjoyed it ſeveral years after " Dr. *Gunning* left it; and I think none of thoſe " fellowſhips were fill'd after the firſt turn by " *Mandamus*'s; but of this I am not certain, and " forgot to aſk Mr. *Mountain* about it, when I " was with him, who probably may remember " that better than I. But I will, as ſoon as I have " an opportunity, ſpeak or write to him about it. " As for what the pamphlet ſays of his governing " the college, the ſenior fellows not daring to op- " poſe him, becauſe of the intereſt he had with his " great maſters; it is very malicious and falſe, for " he was not of an imperious humour, but had " then that ſweetneſs of temper, which he ever after " retained, and was much reſpected by the ſenior " fellows: He was, indeed, in thoſe young years, " of very great parts and prudence, and the ſenior " fellows would always have his advice in what

" was

" was done about college-affairs, giving great " deference to his judgment. And Mr. *Mountain* " (who was one of thoſe ſenior fellows, and as " much as any one for the king's ſide, having " been ſome years in his army) doth, to this day, " retain a very great honour for him, and never " mentions him without a mighty reſpect."

In 1693, I was become maſter of arts, and fellow of the college; and intended to take holy orders. Tho' I confeſs the ſubſcriptions, *&c.* for my degree of maſter of arts, ſeemed to me, even then, ſo uneaſy, that I could hardly perſuade myſelf to comply with them, and have ever ſince I examined into primitive chriſtianity, abſolutely refuſed them, both for myſelf, and my children. Now when I was to go to take orders, I had no mind to apply myſelf to a biſhop, how excellent ſoever, who had come into the place of any who were not ſatisfied with the oaths to king *William* and queen *Mary*, and ſo had been deprived for preferring conſcience to preferment; which, as I ever after reſolved to do myſelf, ſo had I at the revolution written, tho' not printed, a very ſmall paper againſt the lawfulneſs of that oath; tho' tenderly, and with a caution ſuitable to ſo young a man; as being then but 21 years old. However, tho' I have a copy of that paper by me, yet, becauſe I ſoon afterward more thoroughly examined that matter, and ſatisfied myſelf of the lawfulneſs of that oath, at leaſt to thoſe who had not taken an oath to king *James*, which was my caſe; and wrote fully for the title of princes, as not to be derived from hereditary right, but from the choice and recognition of the people in my *Scripture-Politicks*, of which hereafter: I think it no way proper to inſert it in this place. Yet do I too well remember, that the far greateſt part of thoſe of the univerſity

univerſity and clergy that then took the oaths to the government, ſeemed to me to take them with a doubtful conſcience, if not againſt its dictates. Nor conſidering the doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtence, they had generally been brought up in, and generally ſigned before, was it to be otherwiſe expected. Whether the oppoſers of ſuch doubtful oaths and ſubſcriptions, or thoſe that take them while they are diſſatisfied, are under the greater guilt I cannot determine. The great day muſt determine it.

However, I moſt fortunately pitch'd upon the great biſhop *Lloyd*, who had been biſhop of St. *Aſaph* before the revolution, and was then biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, in the neighbourhood of *Tamworth*. To whom that year 1693, I brought my college teſtimonial, with a letter from Mr. *Langley*, miniſter of *Tamworth*, who was one of the beſt and moſt conſcientious clergymen in that dioceſe, and known by the biſhop to be ſo. When I therefore deſired that his lordſhip, would pleaſe to give me deacon's orders on St. *Matthew*'s Day *September* 21ſt, and prieſt's orders on the *Sunday* following, being the publick ordination; he told me, "that he knew what college teſtimonials were: "And that had it not been for Mr. *Langley*'s Let-"ter, I might have gone away *re infectâ*": Yet did his lordſhip favour me with a private ordination, to be a deacon, on the holyday: And after a moſt uncommon, but vaſtly improving examination and inſtruction in the cathedral beforehand, with a publick ordination into the prieſthood, the next Lord's Day; dean *Addiſon*, the preſent biſhop *Chandler* of *Durham*, then his lordſhip's chaplain, and the late biſhop *Smalridge*, laid their hands on me in ordination, as preſbyters. Where it will be proper to obſerve, that when Mr. *Langley* was once at another ordination with this biſhop, he, as one of

of the ſenior and moſt conſiderable preſbyters then preſent, was deſired to lay his hands upon the perſons to be ordained prieſts, he refuſed ſo to do; unleſs he had examined them himſelf, and found them fit for that holy function, which is an example, I think, worthy the imitation of other biſhops and preſbyters, alſo in like caſes.

But upon occaſion of this introduction of biſhop *Lloyd*, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething relating to him, which I myſelf know to be true. I remember to have heard him once ſay, that after the aſſaſſination-plot *A. D.* 1696, the odium of it was ſo great, that not a Jacobite would have remained in the nation, had not the extream rigour of the following act of parliament againſt thoſe that would not ſign an aſſociation, kept up that ſpirit of oppoſition to the government ever afterward; which puts me in mind of the like caſe of two of the nonjurors of St. *John*'s College *Cambridge*; Mr. *Billers* and Mr. *Baker*, who loved their religion and their country as well as any jurors whomſoever: But having once taken an oath to king *James*, could not ſatisfy their conſciences in breaking it, while he lived, for any conſideration whatſoever. Theſe two were long my particular acquaintance: And I well remember, that when king *James* died, which was 1701, they began to deliberate about taking the oath, and coming into the government, till the unhappy abjuration oath, which was made the ſame year, had ſuch clauſes as ſtopp'd all their farther deliberations. I wiſh, heartily wiſh that almoſt all our oaths were abrogated, excepting that of allegiance, and thoſe in courts of juſtice; as the principal, if not the only oaths of any publick neceſſity or advantage; in order to clear our very wicked nation from thoſe horrid crimes of falſe or needleſs oaths; for which the few, very few throughly good men in our *land*, have

have *long mourned:* As did the land of *Iſrael* formerly *mourn becauſe of ſwearing. Jer.* xxiii. 10. Nor can I avoid taking notice of the fooliſh and trifling manner of giving oaths, even in our ſupreme courts of juſtice; which I have often ſeen myſelf with great wonder and diſſatisfaction. A thorough correction of ſuch groſs inſtances of profaneneſs would afford me more hope of ſucceſs as to our arms, from the *only giver of all victory*; and of a peaceable ſettlement of our publick affairs, when we pray to the Almighty, to *give peace in our time, O Lord,* than all the political meaſures we take for thoſe purpoſes without it. And now I am ſpeaking of this truly great and good biſhop, who took me into his boſom, and loved me, as I did him moſt ſincerely; he underſtood the ſacred chronology, the holy ſcriptures, and particularly the prophecies therein contain'd, far better, I believe than any *Jew* or *Chriſtian* in the world before him; and whom I have heard *thank God for being able to read the prophecies as he read hiſtory.* However, I ſhall now ſay ſomewhat to that common objection which unthinking people too unjuſtly make to the accompliſhment of ſome of the biſhop's predictions; made, not from any impulſe of his own; for I have alſo heard him ſay, that *he was neither a prophet, nor the ſon of a prophet,* but from his judicious interpretation of ſcripture prophecies only. 'Tis true, that both he and I at firſt miſtook ſome places in the Apocalypſe: Of which ſee my *Literal Accompliſhment of Prophecies,* p. 90. 113. But that either of us properly miſtook our grand period, of the end, or ends of the 1260 years of the perſecution under *Antichriſt,* as is commonly ſaid, I utterly deny. *See my Eſſay on the Revelation of St.* John, 2d. Edit. p. 319, 320, 322, 323, 324. And ſince it is made out undeniably in that Eſſay, p. 198 — 221, and p. 238 — 242, that biſhop

biſhop *Lloyd* truly foretold the reſtoration of the *Vaudois* 1690, and the end of the *Turkiſh* war 1698; both which he lived to ſee accompliſhed: It is very unjuſt to blame him for any other leſſer miſtakes in ſuch matters. We all gain light by degrees; and if I, or any one elſe, ſince his days, have gained more light either in the prophecies or doctrines of the goſpel, and in part alſo by his means, we ought not to inſult over him; but to thank God Almighty for ſuch farther illumination: Remembring that excellent ſaying of the great Mr. *Mede* himſelf, which I make the motto of my own *Eſſay on the Revelation*; *Illud pro certo habens, niſi in hiſce talibus liberius paulo ſentiendi, imo et errandi venia concedatur, ad profunda illa et latentia veritatis adyta viam nunquam patefactam iri.*

As to biſhop *Lloyd*'s interlined bible, and his notes in ſhort-hand, that vaſt treaſure of ſacred learning, I took great pains many years ago to have it decyphered, by that eminent chronologer Mr. *Marſhal* of *Naunton* in *Glouceſterſhire*, who married a relation of the biſhop's, and knew his characters well, and was willing to undertake it upon proper encouragement, which I almoſt undertook to procure him, from my old friend the lord *King*, when he was firſt made lord chancellor, and had ſo many prebends in his gift. But upon my application to him, I found ſo prodigious a change in him, ſuch ſtrange coldneſs in the matters that concerned religion, and ſuch an earneſt inclination to money and power, that I gave up my hopes quickly. Nay, indeed, I ſoon perceived, that he diſpoſed of his preferments almoſt wholly at the requeſt of ſuch great men as could beſt ſupport him in his high ſtation, without regard to chriſtianity; and I ſoon caſt off all my former acquaintance with him. Now, by the way, if ſuch a perſon as the lord *King*, who began with ſo much ſacred learning,

and

and zeal for primitive chriſtianity, as his firſt work, *The Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Diſcipline, Unity, and Worſhip of the Primitive Church*, ſhewed, was ſo ſoon thoroughly perverted by the love of power and money at court, what good chriſtians will not be horribly affrighted at the deſperate hazard they muſt run, if they venture into the temptations of a court hereafter? Such examples make me often think how wiſely our bleſſed Saviour put in that petition into the Lord's Prayer, *Lead us not into Temptation.*

I proceed now in my own hiſtory.

After I had taken holy orders, I returned to the college, and went on with my own ſtudies there, particularly the mathematicks, and the *Carteſian* philoſophy; which was alone in vogue with us at that time. But it was not long before I, with immenſe pains, but no aſſiſtance, ſet myſelf, with the utmoſt zeal, to the ſtudy of Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s wonderful diſcoveries in his *Philoſophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, one or two of which lectures I had heard him read in the publick ſchools, though I underſtood them not at all at that time. Being indeed greatly excited thereto by a paper of Dr. *Gregory*'s when he was profeſſor in *Scotland*; wherein he had given the moſt prodigious commendations to that work, as not only right in all things, but in a manner the effect of a plainly *divine genius*, and had already cauſed ſeveral of his ſcholars to keep *Acts*, as we call them, upon ſeveral branches of the *Newtonian* philoſophy; while we at *Cambridge*, poor wretches, were ignominiouſly ſtudying the fictitious hypotheſes of the *Carteſian*, which Sir *Iſaac Newton* had alſo himſelf done formerly, as I have heard him ſay. What the occaſion of Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s leaving the *Carteſian* philoſophy, and of diſcovering his amazing theory of gravity was, I have heard him long ago, ſoon after

after my firſt acquaintance with him, which was 1694, thus relate, and of which Dr. *Pemberton* gives the like account, and ſomewhat more fully, in the preface to his explication of his philoſophy: It was this. An inclination came into Sir *Iſaac*'s mind to try, whether the ſame power did not keep the moon in her orbit, notwithſtanding her projectile velocity, which he knew always tended to go along a ſtrait line, the tangent of that orbit, which makes ſtones and all heavy bodies with us fall downward, and which we call *Gravity?* Taking this poſtulatum, which had been thought of before, that ſuch power might decreaſe in a duplicate proportion of the diſtances from the earth's centre. Upon Sir *Iſaac*'s firſt trial, when he took a degree of a great circle on the earth's ſurface, whence a degree at the diſtance of the moon was to be determined alſo, to be 60 meaſured miles only, according to the groſs meaſures then in uſe. He was, in ſome degree, diſappointed, and the power that reſtrained the moon in her orbit, meaſured by the verſed ſines of that orbit, appeared not to be quite the ſame that was to be expected, had it been the power of gravity alone, by which the moon was there influenced. Upon this diſappointment, which made Sir *Iſaac* ſuſpect that this power was partly that of gravity, and partly that of *Carteſius*'s vortices, he threw aſide the paper of his calculation, and went to other ſtudies. However, ſome time afterward, when Monſieur *Picart* had much more exactly meaſured the earth, and found that a degree of a great circle was 69 ½ ſuch miles, Sir *Iſaac*, in turning over ſome of his former papers, light upon this old imperfect calculation, and correcting his former error, diſcover'd that this power, at the true correct diſtance of the moon from the earth, not only tended to the earth's center, as did the common power of gravity with us, but was ex-

actly of the right quantity; and that if a ſtone was carried up to the moon, or to 60 ſemidiameters of the earth, and let fall downward by its gravity, and the moon's own menſtrual motion was ſtopt, and ſhe was let fall by that power which before retained her in her orbit, they would exactly fall towards the ſame point, and with the ſame velocity; which was therefore no other power than that of gravity. And ſince that power appear'd to extend as far as the moon, at the diſtance of 240000 miles, it was but natural, or rather neceſſary, to ſuppoſe it might reach twice, thrice, four times, *&c.* the ſame diſtance, with the ſame diminution, according to the ſquares of ſuch diſtances perpetually. Which noble diſcovery proved the happy occaſion of the invention of the wonderful *Newtonian* philoſophy: which indeed, I look upon in an higher light than others, and as an eminent prelude and preparation to thoſe happy *times of the reſtitution of all things, which God has ſpoken of by the mouth of all his holy prophets, ſince the world began*, Acts iii. 21. To which purpoſe ſee his excellent corollaries relating to religion, of which hereafter. Nor can I forbear to wiſh, that my own moſt important diſcoveries concerning true religion, and primitive chriſtianity, may ſucceed in the *ſecond* place to his ſurprizing diſcoveries; and may together have ſuch a divine bleſſing upon them, that the *kingdoms of this world*, as I firmly expect they will, may ſoon *become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Chriſt, and he may reign for ever and ever!* Amen. Amen.

But now, as to this wonderful man, Sir *Iſaac Newton*, I mean wonderful in mathematicks, and natural philoſophy, and their conſequences: he is one of the greateſt inſtances that ever was, how weak, how very weak, the greateſt of mortal men may be in ſome things, though they be beyond

all

all men in others; and how prodigiouſly inclination, even in ſuch men, can overbear the contrary ſuperior evidence; nay, where they cannot wholly avoid ſeeing ſuch ſuperior evidence before them. Sir *Iſaac*, in mathematicks, could ſometimes ſee almoſt by intuition, even without demonſtration: as was the caſe in that famous propoſition in his *Principia*, that *all parallelograms circumſcribed about the conjugate diameters of an ellipſis are equal*; which he told Mr. *Cotes* he uſed before it had ever been demonſtrated by any one, as it was afterward. And when he did but propoſe conjectures in natural philoſophy, he almoſt always knew them to be true at the ſame time; yet did this Sir *Iſaac Newton* compoſe a *Chronology*, and wrote out 18 copies of its firſt and principal chapter with his own hand, but little different one from another, which proved no better than a *ſagacious romance*, as I have fully proved in my confutation of it; and which, ſince that confutation, no one learned perſon in *Europe* that I know of, has ventur'd to defend; which thing when Mr. *Arthur Onſlow* once obſerved to me, I told him, that though it was impoſſible to be defended, yet, had it not been for my confutation, it had been generally believed for ſeven years, upon account of the vaſtly great reputation of its author. And I remember, that when Mr. *Cotes* and I formerly talked with him about antient chronology, I found his notions ſo weak, that I expected very little from his own chronology, when it ſhould be publiſh'd. Which expectation, although I uſed to ſuggeſt to my friends before ſuch publication, yet would none of them believe me at that time, though they did afterward. The ſame Sir *Iſaac Newton* did alſo ſo imperfectly underſtand the famous prophecy of *Daniel*'s LXX weeks, and ſome of the prophecies in the *Revelation* of St. *John*, even

after the ſucceſsful labours of the great Mr. *Mede* (whom I have heard him own as the beſt of its expoſitors) and others following him, that, upon ſpending once with him alone, *A. D.* 1706, about four hours on the *Apocalypſe*, I could hardly aſſent to more than one of his expoſitions, *viz.* the diſtinction of the IV monarchies in prophetick language, *geographically*, as well as *chronologically*; which therefore, by his permiſſion, I preſerved in my own Eſſay on that book, p. 258, 259, of the firſt edition, and p. 296, 297, 298, of the ſecond. Though after all it muſt be allowed, that Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s judgment did not fail him near ſo often in his expoſition of prophecies, (unleſs we except that of the LXX weeks, which ſeems to me exceeding weak) as it did in his chronology. Of which matters, ſee my *Confutation of his Chronology*, and *ſhort View of his Expoſitions of* Daniel *and the Revelation:* of which hereafter.

During my being chaplain to biſhop *More*, which was from 1694 to 1698, biſhop *Burnet*, who was his particular friend, committed to his peruſal his *Explication of the* XXXIX *Articles of the Church of* England, in MS. who committed it to my peruſal: without the leaſt indication who was the author. Wherein I made a few corrections; which I ſuppoſe were communicated to him. but when I returned the MS. biſhop *More* aſked me, Whom I took to be the Author? I immediately added, that no-body could write it but biſhop *Burnet*: Whom he then allowed to be the true author.

While I was alſo chaplain there, the ſame biſhop *Burnet* committed to biſhop *More*'s peruſal, a vindication of himſelf from the reflections biſhop *Stillingfleet* had made upon him, for requiring *bonds of reſignation* from thoſe whom he made prebendaries

bendaries of *Sarum*, in caſe they left that dioceſe: in order to relinquiſh the *wages* when they relinquiſhed the *work*, for which it was given: and that thoſe that ſucceeded to the *work* might have the *wages* allotted to it. This vindication the biſhop gave me to tranſcribe: which I did, with full approbation of its contents: but without taking a copy for myſelf, which I was not impowered to do. This paper was not then publiſhed; becauſe biſhop *Stillingfleet* was ſo very great a man, that prudent people did not think it proper he ſhould be quarrelled with. Yet when I perceived that biſhop *Burnet*'s ſon, Mr. *Thomas*, (now Mr. Juſtice *Burnet*) was publiſhing his father's life, which he has done with great reputation, I went to him, and told him, what an excellent paper his father had written, and I had tranſcrib'd: with my deſire that if he had it he would publiſh it. He confeſſed he had a copy of it in the country; but ſeemed not willing to publiſh it: nor has he yet publiſhed it, as it highly deſerves. See the late lord *Nottingham*'s letter to Dr. *Waterland*, to the like purpoſe, publiſhed by Dr. *Newton*, at the end of his unanſwerable treatiſe againſt pluralities.

During the ſame time that I was chaplain to biſhop *More*, ſomewhat happened at *Norwich* with relation to the forementioned biſhop *Stillingfleet*'s family; which for a while put me into a great diſorder, and is fit to be here related. The biſhop had a ſon of St. *John*'s college, *Cambridge*, by profeſſion a phyſician, and one that wanted not good parts; but of whom I had heard a very bad character as to his morals. He was ſent by his father to his friend and my patron biſhop *More*, for a private ordination, to capacitate him for a living. Now in ſuch caſes 'tis uſually expected, that the chaplain ſhould preſent the candidate for

orders to the biſhop, and ſolemnly to declare his opinion as to his fitneſs for thoſe orders which the public form of ordination requires: as I once preſented the well known Mr. *Echard*, the hiſtorian, both to deacons and prieſts orders there; and never any one but him: whoſe character was unexceptionable. When I underſtood this, I was in great perplexity, as not intending ever to preſent or conſent to the preſentation of a bad man to holy orders: and yet being unwilling to diſoblige ſo great a man as biſhop *Stillingfleet*. I do not remember that I directly told my uneaſineſs to any body, unleſs it was gueſt at from my countenance, or accidental intimations. However, archdeacon *Jeffries* ſoon came, and voluntarily offered to eaſe me of my trouble; and ſaid, he had heard a better character of him than I had, and would examine and preſent him, which he did. And I have lately heard, he proved afterwards a worthy man.

It was alſo during my being chaplain to biſhop *More*, that I publiſhed my firſt work, intitled, *A New Theory of the Earth, from its Original to the Conſummation of all Things, wherein the Creation of the World in ſix Days, the Univerſal Deluge, and the General Conflagration, as laid down in the Holy Scriptures, are ſhewn to be perfectly agreeable to Reaſon and Philoſophy.* With a large *Introduction* concerning the genuine nature, ſtile, and extent of the *Moſaick* hiſtory of the creation: this book was ſhewed in MS. to Dr. *Bentley*, and to Sir *Chriſtopher Wren*, but chiefly laid before Sir *Iſaac Newton* himſelf, on whoſe principles it depended, and who well approved of it: the *Epitome* of it was made by me long afterward, in order to its inſertion into a foreign journal: and has been added in the 5th edition, which yet may almoſt be called the 7th, ſince the firſt had 1500 copies printed off at once. Whence it is plain that this work was exceeding well

well received by the learned world. As to which reception hear the great Mr. *John Lock*, who ſpeaks thus in his Letter to Mr. *Molyneaux*, concerning this my *New Theory*, ſoon after it was publiſhed: dated from *Oates*, *Feb.* 22, 1696. —— "You "deſire to know what the opinion of the ingenious "is concerning Mr. *Whiſton*'s book. I have not "heard any one of my acquaintance ſpeak of it, but "with great commendations, as I think it deſerves, "and truly I think he is more to be admired that "he has laid down an hypotheſis whereby he has "explained ſo many wonderful, and before inexpli- "cable things in the great changes of this globe, "than that ſome of them ſhould not eaſily go down "with ſome men; when the whole was intirely new "to all. He is one of thoſe ſort of writers that I "always fancy ſhould be moſt eſteemed and en- "couraged; I am always for the builders, who "bring ſome addition to our knowledge, or, at "leaſt, ſome new thing to our thoughts."

And tho' that great geometrician, Mr. *John Keill*, ſoon wrote ſomewhat againſt it twice, yet was it not till after ſuch fair conceſſions as defeated, in great meaſure, his own pretended confutations. However, I immediately reply'd twice; and the ſubſtance of thoſe replies is inſerted in their proper places, in the later editions: tho', indeed, the third edition had, by far, the greateſt improvements: ſince which, I have made very few alterations that are conſiderable.

In the *New Theory*, fifth edition, *Lem.* xii. page 13. read 3 innermoſt ſatellities—him. And the 4th is but a ſmall matter eccentrical.

Lem. xiii. in the figure, the letters *tt* at the focus, and *t* at the end of the axis are wanting.

Lem. xx. *Corol.* 4. read Saturn, and of Jupiter's fourth planet about him. But his three innermoſt ſatellities revolving—

Lem. xxx. *Scholium* 2. inſtead of the greateſt part of that *Scholium*, read thus: but as to the fixed ſtars, which are not repreſented in the figure, they are ſtill ſo vaſtly more remote from the ſun, that it is hardly certain that they are ſubject to any ſenſible parallax at all, even not to that of the annual orbit itſelf. For altho' the great *Hugenius*, by a new and no very improbable method of conjecturing their diſtance in his *Coſmotheorus*, page 137, computed, that the neareſt of them could not well be at a leſs diſtance from the ſun or from us then 27664 ſemidiameters of the *Magnus Orbis*, each of which ſemidiameters cannot well be much leſs than eighty millions of *Engliſh* ſtatute miles, as we ſhall ſee preſently. So that by this calculation, the neareſt of the fixed ſtars muſt be about 2,240,784,000, of miles from us: and altho' Dr. *Hook*'s, and Mr. *Flamſtead*'s attempts to diſcover that parallax, did produce ſomewhat more than one third of this diſtance of thoſe three ſtars they tried; yet has Mr. *Molyneaux*'s, and Dr. *Bradley*'s much nicer, and more certain obſervations determined ſuch annual parallax, to be hardly more than one ſecond, which is ſo very ſmall a quantity, as to leave us in doubt, whether it is to be eſteemed as at all ſenſible, and to make us certain that the diſtance of thoſe fixed ſtars, which they tried cannot be leſs than 30,000,000,000,000 *Engliſh* miles: an amazing diſtance this! and were not the evidence for it undeniable, as I think it is plainly incredible! but then, as to the nature of the fixed ſtars. —

Lem. xxxii. *Schol.* inſtead of its latter part, read, as Sir *Iſaac Newton* alſo did in his latter writing of this nature, I mean the Theory of the Moon, publiſhed by Dr. *Gregory*; and has ſuppoſed the ſun's parallax, 10″; and from this hypotheſis I made theſe and the following calculations. Which therefore cannot be far from truth; tho' at laſt he uſed

Mr.

Mr. *Pound*'s and Mr. *Bradley*'s mean quantity of $10\frac{1}{2}$, which would diminish the earth's distance from 81,000,000 to 77,000,000 miles, and the rest in proportion. But many of these and the following numbers may be still a small matter corrected from Dr. *Smith*'s Opticks.

Lem. lxxxii. Add in the margin, fig. 7, after Hypoth. IV. add.

N. B. [Since my discovery of some other ancient apocryphal fragments, or remains of ancient traditions, I have determined the place of Paradise more nicely, as near to the city of *Damascus* itself. See *Authentic Records*, page 883, 884, 885.]

Hypoth. VII. 6. page 131. read, That three of the four little planets, *&c.*

After Hypoth. IX. 2. add.

N. B. [When I re-examined the old chronology, and found that there was about 600 years more between the flood and *Abraham*, than the masorete *Hebrew* allows, I was forced to place *Fohi*, much later than the days of *Noah*, See *Six Dissertations*, page 195——211.]

Hypoth. XI. page 222, dele the latter half of the corollary, and read thus in its stead; I formerly supposed the year before the flood to be only 360 days long, as it was in many places after the flood, and on that hypothesis have here made a calculation of the quantity of earth or water, that proceeded from the comet; which then amounted to a vast magnitude. If any prefer the testimony of *Enoch*, preserved by *Syncellus*, from *Alexander Polyhister*, *Authentic Records*, page 268, 269, which assures us that the year before the flood was just 365 days; the calculation must be altered accordingly, and the quantity received from the comet will not be a 20th part of the former, or will be to that as 5h. 49m. = 349. to 5d. 5h. 49m. = 7549 only. In Corollary (3.) change the note, as directed page 452.

Solut.

Solut. LXXI. Coroll. 3. dele the latter 4 lines.

Now to return a little backward; while I was reſident at *Cambridge*, which I was in all about 17 years, I obſerved great defects and diſorders in the conſtitution of our college of *Clare-Hall*; as alſo in that of the univerſity in general. And I accordingly drew up two papers, the one under the title of *Emendanda in Collegio*, the other of *Emendanda in Academia*; the former paper, which was of leſs conſequence, I have not preſerved, but the latter of greater conſequence I have by me, and, as improved a little afterward, ſtood thus *Verbatim*.

Emendanda in Academia.

(See *Parſons* advice to a *Roman* catholick king of *England*.)

All old ſtatutes to be repealed: yet ſo that their uſeful parts be taken into the new ſtatutes; and the deſigns of the founders preſerved, as much as may be.

The new ſtatutes to be
Few in number:
Plain in words:
Practicable in quality:
Known by all.

No more than one civil oath, that of allegiance, to be impoſed.

Penalties, and not oaths, to be ſecurities in all other caſes.

No more than one eccleſiaſtical ſubſcription to be impoſed, that to the original baptiſmal profeſſion; with the owning the ſacred authority of the books of the Old and New Teſtament; and this only on ſtudents in divinity.

Civil authority and courts to be put into the hands of proper perſons, diſtinct from the univerſity: with one appeal to the judges, and all to be governed by the common law.

Viſitors

Viſitors to be appointed where there are none; but ſtill with one appeal to the judges.

Expences to be limited within certain bounds.

Particular tutors in colleges to be appointed by the maſter, and to unite in common for the teaching that particular ſcience they are beſt acquainted with.

Public profeſſors to conſent to the maſter's appointment; and to be overſeers to all thoſe tutors and pupils in their own faculties; and to examine the ſcholars ever year, to ſee what proficiency they have made the foregoing year.

Rewards or privileges to be allotted to the beſt ſcholars upon ſuch examination, and the groſly idle, ignorant, and vicious not to advance in ſtanding, till they have made ſome competent proficiency.

All elections into ſcholarſhips and fellowſhips to be after open examination and trial, as to learning; as well as full teſtimony as to morals. And the times for ſuch election to be known long beforehand, and fixed in the ſtatutes.

Viſitors may openly examine again upon complaints; and in notorious caſes may alter the election.

Deſert for learning and morals; *fitneſs* for the duty; and *cæteris paribus*, *want* the only qualifications for free elections, *viz.* in all ſuch caſes as are without propriety.

No perſons to interpoſe to hinder the freedom of elections. And the procurers of letters from great men to be incapable.

No preſent poſſeſſors to be diſplaced; [upon a viſitation of the univerſity:] otherwiſe than according to their former ſtatutes, or thoſe of the realm.

Fellowſhips to be annually diminiſhed, if not vacated, after a certain number of years; excepting [heads of colleges] tutors, and profeſſors.

feſſors. And this for the advantage of ſending men into the world while they may be uſeful, and the procuring a quicker ſucceſſion.

Heads of colleges and profeſſors to be choſen as now; but from any college or place whatſoever, and to be approved by the biſhop of the dioceſe where the founder lived: and in all royal foundations by the king.

Diſcipline to be ſtrict, but not rigorous, prayers not to be too long, nor too early: ſhort prayers at nine at night in winter, and ten in ſummer, for all to be preſent at.

Scholars to be encouraged to do their duty rather than forced, eſpecially in the caſe of the communion, which ſhould at leaſt be monthly.

Fellows to be obliged to frequent the publick worſhip as well as the ſcholars.

The college ſervants to be inſtructed and catechized, either in their ſeveral pariſhes, or colleges, and to frequent the prayers.

Scholaſtic diſputations about modern controverſies in divinity, to be changed into lectures on the ſcriptures, or moſt primitive writers, *&c.*

Preachers not to meddle with ſtate affairs farther than the goſpel directly requires or allows.

No modern ſyſtems of divinity to be followed; but the original languages of the Bible, and moſt ancient authors, with ſuch later helps as are neceſſary to the underſtanding of them, to be recommended.

Admiſſions into colleges to be better taken care of.

No uncertain ſyſtems of philoſophy to be recommended; but mathematics, and experiments to be prefer'd.

None in holy orders, nor under-graduates to go to taverns or public houſes at all, without particular buſineſs with ſtrangers there, and at early

early hours. Others to be reſtrained from much frequenting the ſame.

All under-graduates to be in their ſeveral colleges by nine at night in winter, and ten in ſummer: and all graduates within an hour after.

New galleries to be built at St. *Mary*'s to hold all the ſcholars, and the colleges to go thither on Lord's-Days in order, as they do now to *Clerums*.

None to have teſtimonials for orders till they have ſtudied the ſcriptures and antiquity for three years.

No treats for degrees to exceed a certain ſmall ſum, to be fixed for them.

All pecuniary puniſhments to go to the charity-ſchools, or poor of the pariſhes in *Cambridge*.

April 15, 1717. WILL. WHISTON.

But to proceed:

While I was an under-graduate at *Cambridge*, I uſed to note down the heads of the ſermons I heard there, with the preachers names, and the opinion I then had of their performances, which I have ſtill by me. In which I had a peculiar regard for thoſe preached by Mr. afterward biſhop *Fleetwood*, by Mr. *Gervaſe Needham*, of *Emanuel* college, at St. *Mary*'s, and at *Sturbridge* fair; and a ſingle ſermon of Dr. *Gouge*'s (the ſon of that Mr. *Gouge*, the apoſtle of the *Welch*, whoſe funeral ſermon was preached by archbiſhop *Tillotſon*) before the univerſity, at St. *Mary*'s, *Feb.* 8, 1690.

And ſince I have ſtill preſerved ten religious Meditations of mine, which I wrote in the five firſt years of my reſiding in *Cambridge*, between 1686 and 1691; I ſhall here inſert them.

MEDI-

MEDITATIONS.

Dec. 19, 1686.

I. *Upon the ſcandalous Lives of many Miniſters.*

I Have always look'd on ſuch men, who have taken upon them this ſacred function, and thereby not only oblig'd themſelves to a good life, but alſo taken upon themſelves the care of a multitude of other ſouls, of which they muſt give a ſtrict account at the great day to be the moſt deſpicable and miſerable of mankind, when they do not only neglect the care of thoſe committed to them, but by their exceſs in drinking, or their careleſs, looſe, and pleaſurable converſation, prove the greateſt temptation to all under their charge and conduct; nay, and to all others, that obſerve them; and do more encourage them in their ſins by their ill example, yea, perhaps by one ſingle inſtance of debauchery, than they can diſſuade them from them by all thoſe long harangues and diſcourſes from the word of God, which from the pulpit they make unto them. For there is ſcarce any man of ſo dull apprehenſion, but will reaſon thus: If this man believed himſelf in what he preaches to us, if he really believed that there is ſuch a great reward for the godly, and puniſhment for the wicked in another world; and that the word of God requires ſuch ſtrictneſs and conſtant carefulneſs in the keeping its commands, to be ſure he would be more temperate in drink, and more exact and careful of his converſation, and not live as the reſt of the careleſs world do, who ſcarce believe any thing in earneſt of a world to come: and then, perhaps, he thinks he has reaſon to conclude, that, in reality, he does not believe what he declares to them, but preaches only for

for a livelihood, as other perſons follow their trades to get a ſubſiſtance. Oh how ſad will the account be one day for ſuch paſtors, who inſtead of being an example to their flocks, of ſobriety, contempt of the pleaſures, riches, and honours of the world, heavenly-mindedneſs, ſelf-denial, and all other chriſtian virtues, ſhall be found to be one great occaſion of their eternal ruin and deſtruction! When even their very tythes and maintenance, which was appointed for the uſe of perſons to take care of the people's ſouls, ſhall riſe up in judgment againſt ſuch as received them, but never took care to diſcharge that duty which ſuch plentiful proviſions required at their hands!

O bleſſed God, if thou pleaſeſt to lengthen out my life, and to call me to ſerve thee in the miniſtery, to which my father has devoted me, I humbly beſeech thee, to make me ſenſible of the weight of the charge I undertake, and careful and conſcientious in the diſcharge of the ſame; and eſpecially that I may by my good example conſtantly edify and inſtruct my flock, and do my utmoſt diligence both to ſave myſelf and them that hear me; through Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour. *Amen.*

February 6, 1686.

II. *Of the Neglect of the Sabbath* [*or Lord's-Day.*]

I Think 'tis a true obſervation of ſome, that 'tis one of the firſt fruits or ſigns of a perſon's converſion, to be careful in a ſtrict obſervation of the Lord's-Day, or Chriſtian Sabbath; and then, by the rule of contraries, it muſt be a ſign of a careleſs and prophane temper to diſregard and ſlight the ſame: which, alas! is too common even among the learned themſelves, who ſeem too much to have loſt the ſenſe of their duty as to the keeping holy this

this day; and is, methinks, one of the worſt preſages and forebodings of ſome future judgment impendent on this land. The eminent judge *Hales* obſerves that he had long taken ſpecial notice that, according to his ſerioufneſs or careleſneſs on the ſabbath, ſo on the week following his temporal concerns did proſper or not; God immediately rewarding his care of keeping holy the ſabbath, by the proſperous ſucceſs of his affairs the week following; as you may ſee in his directions to his children about the ſabbath. And ſurely when we by experience find the well ſpending of that day to be ſo beneficial to our ſouls, too apt to be clogg'd and taken up by the buſineſs, and cares, and pleaſures, of this world; unleſs we ſet apart ſome times on purpoſe, wherein, withdrawing ourſelves from the world, we may have leiſure and opportunity to take care of our ſouls, and prepare for another world: and when we find God had ordain'd one day in ſeven for his immediate ſervice, even immediately after the creation, which command was never, I ſuppoſe, abrogated, but only changed, inaſmuch as the reſurrection of our Saviour was ſuch a ſignal mercy as made the apoſtles think fit, (I ſuppoſe by the direction of the ſpirit of God) to alter the *Jewiſh* Sabbath to the chriſtians Lord's-Day, that we might in particular remember the reſurrection of Chriſt, as they did the creation of the world; I ſay, when we find it both a duty and an exceeding benefit, it may juſtly ſeem a wonder that it ſhould be ſo publickly and openly profaned, even when the laws of the land are ſo good and ſevere as to the obſervance of it: and, if not repented of, I much fear God will, by ſome judgment, (perhaps fire) revenge himſelf on a ſinful and diſobedient people. For certainly the ſanctification of this day cannot conſiſt with that carnal eaſe, mirth, and rejoicing, which on this day is now grown too common among us.

[*N. B.*

[*N. B.* When I wrote this, I was not appriz'd that the ſabbath was never changed: but was ever to be obſerved in a leſſer degree, as the Lord's-Day in a greater, by all chriſtians.]

March 6, 1686-7.

III. *Of the Temptations of the Devil.*

ALTHO' there is no queſtion but wicked men do oft, to excuſe themſelves, lay the fault of their evil deeds to the charge of the evil one; when it is the naughtineſs of their own hearts, which love and practiſe ſin, that is the real cauſe of ſuch actions; yet it cannot, I think, in reaſon, be denied, but the devil has a great and ſecret hand, eſpecially in ſome ſort of temptations, and often does ſuggeſt ſuch ſuſpicious objections, and oftentimes blaſphemous, horrid, and ſtrange apprehenſions to the mind, as are hardly ſo accountable any other way: for they are often, eſpecially in melancholy perſons, ſo contrary to the conſtant ſentiments and belief of a man's mind, and ſo contrary and abhorrent from the ſettled temper and inclination of a perſon; yea, not ſeldom ſo black and diſmal, ſo odious and ugly, and the mind is ſo fill'd with ſad terror and amazement at the conſideration of them, that they ſeem to own their original from nothing ſo fitly, as from that roaring lion, that goes about ſeeking whom he may devour. To this ſource and fountain may well be referr'd thoſe atheiſtical, unbelieving, diſtruſtful, deſpairing ſuggeſtions, which too many, by woful experience, have felt in themſelves. Hither alſo may be referr'd many of thoſe idle, vain, diſtracting and wandering thoughts, which are ſo often caſt into the ſoul, when it is about the great duties of religion, and come in without any other appa-

rent cauſe, directly contrary to the deſire and purpoſe of the perſon, which it ought to be our great care to avoid. Neither, perhaps, can we ſo well refer the extreme wickedneſs, debauchery, profaneneſs, perjury, and other the ſaddeſt inſtances of the depraved nature of man, which appear ſo viſibly in the world, contrary to all the dictates of ſober reaſon, counſel, and intereſt itſelf, to the defilement and pollution of human nature (which yet is very great) as to the violent temptations of the devil; who hurries ſuch perſons, as, by their former evil lives, have baniſhed the good ſpirit from them, to ſuch degrees of wickedneſs, as, otherwiſe, 'tis ſcarce credible that a reaſonable creature ſhould ever be induced to commit. Yea, tho' in the mean while they do profeſs to believe that they are in that way, where, in the end, they muſt expect everlaſting damnation.

But, O gracious Father, thou lover of ſouls, ſend down thy Holy Spirit into my heart, to aſſiſt, counſel, comfort, and conduct me ſo ſafely through the wilderneſs of this world, that, whatſoever ſuggeſtions the devil may caſt into my mind, I may abhor and caſt them out again, without the leaſt defilement by them; and, at laſt, may, by that Holy Spirit's guidance and aſſiſtance, be brought ſafe to the viſion of peace. Through Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

March 27, 1687, being EASTER-DAY.

IV. *Of the Reaſonableneſs of Religion.*

WHEN the ends and deſigns of true religion, (ſuch as are the glory of God, and the happineſs of man, in raiſing thoſe noble faculties of his ſoul to the higheſt pitch, and moſt worthy objects, and, even in this world, the peace and proſperity of all human ſocieties; and as well the welfare

welfare of the world in general, as of each perſon in particular;) are ſo apparently excellent and reaſonable; and the ways and means it preſcribes ſo conducive and proper to the attainment of the forementioned ends; it muſt needs follow, that religion is really reaſonable in itſelf, and every way worthy of human nature; and altho' it ſhould lay more reſtraint upon the affections and actions of men, than indeed it doth, they might well be borne, in conſideration of thoſe greater benefits and advantages which it produces. But wherein lies this hardneſs, and what are the reſtraints which are ſo burthenſome, that religion muſt be thought unreaſonably ſevere in impoſing them on us? is it in that temperance, ſobriety, chaſtity, and diligence, it injoins? the contrary vices bring ſuch real diſadvantages not ſeldom in this world, that might more reaſonably deter a prudent man from them, tho' they were forbidden by no law; ſo that here is apparently not only no juſt cauſe of rejecting, but very juſt cauſe of embracing religion, which propoſes ſo noble a reward to the exerciſe of thoſe virtues, which a man would think were ſufficiently rewarded by the bleſſings they procure in this life. Is it unreaſonable for a creature to love, worſhip, fear, truſt, ſerve, and obey his great and good Creator? why then is it not thought as unreaſonable for a child to perform the like in a lower degree to his parents? or why do parents require and think it fitting that their offspring ſhould be obedient to 'em, when it very much croſſes their inclination? when we all have a more immediate dependance on God, than a child on his parent. Sure this unreaſonableneſs cannot be charged on the duties of juſtice and charity: without which, indeed, all ſocieties would be in miſerable circumſtances; and which, if followed, would render man's life far more eaſy and comfortable than 'tis like to be, while men are ſo careleſs

leſs in performing the duties relating to one another. Where then is it? in thoſe ſelf-denials, and bearing the croſs; in thoſe perſecutions, troubles, and difficulties, that religion ſometimes expoſes men to? well, ſuppoſe theſe things do fall to the portion of good men: yet, for anſwer, I aſk, are they the only miſerable? do no calamities light on the reſt of the world? is there no hardneſs and difficulty in conquering the reaſon and ſtopping the mouth of the conſciences of the profane and wicked, before they can get leave of themſelves to follow ſuch courſes as they cannot but diſallow? is there no torment in an accuſing, ſtinging, and condemning conſcience? no croſſes and troubles in the way to deſtruction? is all ſo ſmooth and eaſy, ſo plain and ſafe, free and undiſturbed, that no troubles or afflictions can poſſibly reach or affect them? nothing leſs. Nay, I think that it may be queſtioned whether the life of wicked perſons, all things conſidered, be not the harder and fuller of difficulties, excepting only ſome particular times of perſecution, when God calls men to lay down their lives for his ſake. How often does one vice contradict another? what quarrels and contentions do ariſe among copartners? what fears of the detection of ſecret crimes? what horror of death, and future account? what poverty, diſgrace, ſickneſs, and a thouſand inconveniences do they often bring upon themſelves? and however a perpetual guilt dogging and accompanying them whereſoever they go, which will return again with the greater horror, by how much the more they ſhall have drowned the ſenſe of it in debauchery and drinking. Nay farther, I ſuppoſe, that intemperance, luxury, quarrelling, and other vices, have brought innumerable more to an untimely death than ever religion did: ſo little reaſon men have to complain of the hardneſs of the way to heaven, when they take

ſuch

ſuch pains to go through with that courſe which, in the end, will requite them with eternal miſery.

Never let me, O Lord, perform that drudgery, the wages whereof is eternal death, only to eſcape ſome difficulties and hardſhips in that way which leads to eternal bliſs! Through Jeſus Chriſt.

May 5, 1689.

V. *On the late great changes, and the preſent poſture of affairs in* England, *&c.*

WHOEVER he be that ſets up his reſt here below, and is not ſufficiently convinced of the vanity and uncertainty of all worldly goods; let him but ſeriouſly within his own breaſt reflect on theſe late great and aſtoniſhing mutations, and he need go no further for a convincing evidence of what he is ſo unwilling to believe, *viz.* That it is the greateſt folly imaginable to lay up treaſure, or place any confidence in this frail, mortal, and more than unconſtant ſtate, and vale of tears. The Divine Providence ſeems in all ages to have given inſtances ſufficient to all mankind, to deter them from doating on earthly goods, from depending on princes favours, or thinking themſelves ſecure in the moſt proſperous times, thereby to prepare their minds the better to attend the motions of his Holy Spirit, and the conſtant ſuggeſtions of the law of nature written in their hearts. For while we think we are ſecure, and likely to enjoy innumerable days of eaſe, honour, and ſatisfaction, we put the thoughts of death, judgment, and eternity, out of our minds; and we are apt to think we are ſo well provided for already, that we are in no need of looking out for another manſion, when our bodies are laid in the duſt, and our ſouls fled to another region. We ſeldom care ſo to number our days

as to apply our hearts to wiſdom, and the fear of God, while we are on every ſide encompaſſed with friends, treated with reſpect and obſervance, and careſs'd by the pleaſing ſmiles of fortune; but when an adverſe gale ſhall ſtop us in our career, and when the Almighty, by his providence, takes from us all the props and confidences wherein we truſted, and reduces us to ſtraits and difficulties, then we are at leiſure, and can freely look upwards to our Maker; then we are willing to entertain thoughts of God and religion, and can be content, ſeeing this world either gone or going, to look after a more durable felicity hereafter: and when we feel all our worldly holds to fail and deceive us, we erect our eyes and hopes towards a kingdom that cannot be moved; which no ill-will of a prince can deprive us of; nor any alteration of government eject us from. Good God! how adorable are thy diſpenſations, who, by denying us earth, giveſt us heaven: by afflicting us in this world, prepareſt a place for us, where we ſhall for evermore be freed from all manner of afflictions!

But we may make a farther uſe of theſe things, we may obſerve how hard a venture they run who proſtitute their conſcience to their intereſt; and venture on ſin, to get the favour of thoſe in authority. How ſoon are they, with their protectors, caſt down, and made the ſcorn and the laughter of their neighbours? and how miſerable muſt they needs be, who have an accuſing conſcience within, and nothing without to give them any ſupport, or relief; when as he that in all times acts according to the dictates of reaſon, and is always true to his well ſettled principles, if affairs change, and he happen to be in adverſity, he is eſteem'd and honour'd by all ſober men: and however, he has that within which is a ſovereign cordial againſt all the miſchiefs he may fall into; and can, with an humble

ble aſſurance, look up to heaven, and ſolace himſelf in the favour of God, and the hopes of a bleſſed immortality: He can, as *Horace* ſays, *Sua virtute ſe involvere*; and be as ſafe and happy with the defence of a good conſcience, as if he had walls of braſs encompaſſing him. If it pleaſe the Divine Providence to proſper and exalt him in the world, he is thankful, humble, and takes care to make uſe of his place, and power, for God's glory, and the benefit of mankind. But if the ſame Providence deprives him of all his honours and preferments, he knows 'tis becauſe it will reward him ſevenfold hereafter, and he is ſatisfied and contented; being aſſur'd, if his gracious Father had ſeen it beſt for him to have been ſtill a courtier, or great, he ſhould ſo have remain'd ſtill: and he is not ſo fooliſh as to wiſh for what he believes would have been to his own harm and detriment, at the upſhot: but heartily joins with that petition in the Lord's Prayer, *Thy Will be done.* But as to the actors in this great change, whether they can juſtify themſelves before that God, who trieth the heart, and ſearcheth the reins, muſt be left to the determination of the Great Day, where no cunning ſhifts, and pretences of piety, will paſs for a ſufficient excuſe for rebellion, and diſobedience to lawful magiſtrates. Or whether it be lawful to comply with theſe things, and ſwear allegiance to a new king, the other claiming his right, 'tis not very eaſy to determine. [But more about this ſee, in my paper call'd *The lawfulneſs of the new oath of allegiance ſoberly diſcuſs'd.*]

Shew me thy way, O Lord, and teach me thy paths. Make thy way plain before my face, that I may always have a conſcience void of offence, towards God, and towards men. *Amen.*

May 12, 1689.

VI. *A Lamentation of the Decay of true Piety, and Practical Chriſtianity.*

THERE needs nothing but a right ſenſe of religion, following from a true notion of it, to make us ſorely bewail its decay and diſeſteem in the world. When a man ſeriouſly conſiders the excellency, nobleneſs, neceſſity, uſefulneſs, and pleaſantneſs of religion; its fitneſs to man in every relation and condition of life; the peace and quiet of every particular ſoul, and of human ſocieties and conſtitutions, which it aims at; the greatneſs of its object, even the one eternal Majeſty of heaven and earth, the immenſity of its rewards in another world; and withall takes a view of human nature, its faculties, and deſires, its capacities, and endowments, exactly fitted and adapted to religion; as religion in the reverſe is exactly calculated to ſupply the wants, remedy the evils, enlarge the powers, raiſe the mind, erect the hopes, and finally perfect and compleat mankind: and at the ſame time ſees how little it is heeded, how vilely it is abuſed, how it is proſtituted to every unworthy purpoſe, and now ſo intolerably ſpoil'd and corrupted in its practical part, which is the main aim and ſcope of it, that one may almoſt cry out, Away with it out of the world, let it divide no more minds, deſtroy no more kingdoms, butcher no more innocents, cloak no more crimes, nay, debauch no more principles any longer: he that ſhall ſoberly reflect on theſe things together, will be ready to ſay with the prophet *Jeremiah*, *O that my eyes were waters, and my head a fountain of tears, that I might lament, day and night, the miſerable ſtate and condition*

condition of the generality of mankind! that I might bewail the madneſs, folly, and ſtupidity of wretched men! That there ſhould be ſuch a price and opportunity put into the hands of ſuch fools to get wiſdom, who have no heart to it! that ſo precious a privilege, purchas'd with the blood of the Son of God, as the promiſes of religion propoſe, of being heirs of eternal felicity, ſhould be ſo undervalued and rejected by ungrateful mortals! that what the Almighty deſign'd for the perfecting human nature ſhould be ſo deform'd, alter'd, and chang'd, to be inſtrumental too often to its bane and miſery! Such conſiderations as theſe might well make a man conclude there were ſome great cheat in the buſineſs of religion; ſome mighty impoſition and abuſe put upon mankind; and that its principles were quite of a different nature from what it is above repreſented; or elſe it muſt be reſolved that, by one means or another, human nature is ſtrangely diſtorted, and out of order, thus to convert meat into crudity; phyſick into diſeaſes; and the moſt ſovereign and univerſal medicine, into the moſt pernicious and epidemical malady. Which laſt will ſoon be found to be the real caſe of the world, when, (1.) 'tis undeniable to any one reading either the law of nature engraven in all men's hearts, or the law reveal'd to the *Jews* under dark repreſentations, and to the Chriſtians in its meridian ſplendour in the holy records, that the precepts, promiſes, threatenings, examples, and counſels of religion, are uniformly adapted, and do univerſally concenter in thoſe noble ends, the glory and pleaſing of God, in the perfecting and making happy of human nature, *&c.* (2.) 'Tis evident man's nature is a capable and proper ſubject of religion; and that the ends propos'd by it are attainable: becauſe *de facto* we find in the firſt ages of the church, that religion in a great

great meaſure attain'd its aim, and rendered the chriſtians amiable, and honour'd in the eyes of the heathens themſelves; whereby multitudes were every where converted to our moſt holy profeſſion, ſeeing them ſhew out of a good converſation, their works with meekneſs of wiſdom; as the apoſtle exhorts them. Then was the power and excellency of chriſtianity ſeen, when *non magna loquimur, ſed vivimus*, was the badge of a diſciple of our Lord; when more pains was taken in conquering luſts than foes; and more fought againſt their ſins than their ſovereigns; when *Preces* and *Lachrymæ* were the arms, and *Sanguis Martyrum* the ſeed of the church militant upon earth; when chriſtians had a ſerious ſenſe of what they profeſs'd to believe, and durſt not be hypocritical in that religion, for which every day they expected to loſe their lives, and all they had in this world. Oh when will that golden age again viſit the languiſhing church of Chriſt? when will that daily piety and devotion; that ſtrict juſtice and ſincerity; that hearty love and charity grow warm in theſe frozen regions of the world any more? but if it be too much to expect that; yet I may have leave I hope to lament, to deſire, to wiſh, and at leaſt to comfort my troubled mind, with the thoughts that it was once among us on earth, and will return however in heaven to thoſe that ſeek it earneſtly in this world. O my good God! whither is thy fear baniſhed! whither is devotion retir'd? into ſome warmer regions of the earth? no, they are as ſtrange there as here. Whither is humility, temperance, candour, unity, contentment, peaceableneſs, and that mutual affection which is the known character of the followers of the Holy Jeſus, driven and abconded? alas! they have moſt of them put on heir ætherial vehicle, and abandon'd the reaking teams, and ſmoaky miſts, of this dull and cloggy clay,

clay, to fly among the cæleſtial inhabitants; where they are better welcom'd than among depraved mortals. Oh! but do not quite leave us, O ye divine Graces; do not utterly forſake thoſe few who earneſtly deſire your grateful company; tho' they are preſs'd down by loads of dirt, and the weight of thoſe chains by which they are tyed to their earthly tabernacles.

And grant, O Father of mercies, that at laſt *Chriſtendom* may become chriſtians indeed, and we may all let our lights ſhine before men, that they may ſee our good works, and glorify thee our Father, who art in Heaven. That every one that nameth the name of Chriſt, may depart from all iniquity. O that we may all underſtand in this our day, the things that belong to our everlaſting peace! *Amen. Amen.*

November 3, 1689.

Being the day on which one Orton *of our College died.*

VII. *Of Death.*

WHenſoever we think or write of any things that concern this preſent life, we do it with ſome ſenſe and feeling of that about which we are converſant, becauſe we have ourſelves experienced them, or the like to them. But when we reaſon and diſcourſe of death, we are about what we never have had any taſte of, nor any idea of our imagination, to which we might apply ourſelves to deſcribe it in a right manner. We indeed ſee, that after a hard ſtruggle with a diſeaſe, at laſt the corpſe grows ſtiff, cold, and fitter for a grave, than thoſe actions to which before it always was ſo ſerviceable; but as to the immaterial part the

the ſoul, we have no notices what is become of it, with what pangs it parted with its old companion the body, what faculties and affections it retains, whither it is doom'd, or how it fares with it in that other ſtate; I ſay we know nothing of all this by experience, till it is too late to deſcribe it to others. The Almighty having, in his unſearchable Wiſdom and Providence, thought fit to hide from men many of thoſe things which we have the greateſt natural deſire of being acquainted withal; to teach us entirely to depend on his revealed word and will, to keep us humble and watchful, knowing, that if we refuſe *Moſes* and the Prophets, Chriſt and his Apoſtles, neither would we be perſuaded though one roſe from the dead, to tell us by his own late experience what paſſes in that other world, how gracious God is to his children, and how ſevere towards incorrigible offenders. 'Tis ſufficient for us that we are ſure we muſt all die, and we know not at all what hour our Lord will come to require an account of our ſtewardſhip; ſo that we know enough to make us watchful, and always prepared to meet the king of terrors; to make us cautious how we venture on any ſin, in the very commiſſion whereof we may be ſnatch'd away to God's dreadful tribunal. The brute beaſts, who have no account to render, and ſo it matters not much when or how they die, do not at all fear or foreſee their own ſlaughter, though hundreds of their fellows be ſlain before their eyes. But man has reaſon, by viewing other's mortality, certainly to preſage his own; and ſo has all the obligation imaginable to provide before-hand for what he knows will ſhortly come to paſs. How inexcuſeable are we then, miſerable mortals, having ſpectacles of death every day almoſt before our eyes, to put far from us the evil day! to reckon upon ſo many years to come! and thereby to forget a due preparation

paration till death ſeizes, and we are juſt upon the brink of eternity! Oh that we would all wait till our change come with *Job*; and, as *Horace* bids, *Omnem crede diem tibi diluxiſſe ſupremum*; that at laſt, after the example of 5000 years mortality, we would live as thoſe that know not but they may be in another world by the next morning; that we would improve that time which is lent us on purpoſe to work out our own ſalvation in ſo warily, as believing it to be a talent for which we muſt be accountable to him who lends it to us; that we would, at length, be perſuaded to labour hard for the few minutes of this life, in hopes of winning a crown of immortality; and not by our careleſs behaviour, and cuſtomary ſins, provoke God to cut off that thread of life which he ſees we abuſe ſo much to his diſhonour, and our own ruin. We uſually eſteem it a great unhappineſs to be taken away in the ſpring and youth of our age, before we have had ſufficient experience of the folly of ſin, and goodneſs of religion; when, I believe, 'tis often a point of the greateſt mercy and compaſſion in Almighty God, to cut off ſome ſinners at firſt; he foreſeeing, if he ſhould let 'em to go on, they would but augment the number, and aggravate the guilt of their ſins, and ſo plunge themſelves deeper into that lake which burns with fire and brimſtone; and involve themſelves faſter in thoſe flames which will never be quenched. So that it ſeems in mercy to be ordered by God, that very many ſins ſoon draw death after them, and ſo take away the ſins and the ſoul together; leſt if the authors ſhould be ſuffered to live long, they would more and more heat the furnace of God's wrath againſt themſelves, and ſo partake of a ſadder condemnation. For when men have once abandon'd the grace of God, and caſt off the ſuggeſtions of conſcience,

and

and motions of God's Spirit, and given themſelves to *Satan*, to work all uncleanneſs with greedineſs, 'tis impoſſible to do them a greater kindneſs than ſoon to take them away, and hurry them to a leſs puniſhment, that they may avoid a greater. Though if this be the beſt of the wicked man's death, 'tis very ſad and deplorable. How can any ſinner have a good countenance, a chearful look, or one dram of comfort and pleaſure, while he is wallowing in thoſe vices which only wait an opportunity to turn him into hell? How can one ſmile ſit on his brow who muſt ſhortly wail and howl for ever? much leſs can any thing yield him any comfort when ſickneſs ſeizes him, and the meſſenger of the judge of the world arreſts him, and drags him out of this world, from all his old companions, pleaſant cups, vain jollity, and brutiſh pleaſures, to give an account of all thoſe ſins which he has been heaping up many years to his own deſtruction. At this hour what can help, what can any way comfort? nothing on every ſide but ſin, an offended God, an accuſing conſcience, an aggravating devil, and eternal burnings! Oh the madneſs of wretched ſinners! to court thoſe luſts, and hug thoſe ſins, which will at laſt reduce them to ſuch a deſperate and intolerable condition, the ſadneſs and horror whereof is unexpreſſible! but, on the other hand, if we look on the death of a good and righteous man, we ſhall perceive 'tis ſo far from a curſe, that 'tis his only reſcue out of the miſeries of this frail ſtate, and the beginning of never-failing pleaſures in the other. This is the bridge that carries him over from time to eternity, from ſorrow to joy, from care and fear to peace and ſecurity, from a far country to his father's houſe, from earth to heaven. O happy meſſenger, may the good man ſay when death ſeizes him; welcome thou ambaſſador

ſador of my Father, thou finiſher of ſadneſs, and fountain of happineſs! I willingly deliver up the uncertain tenure of this carcaſe into thy hands, who, I hope, will one day reſtore it me freed from thoſe ills and maladies, thoſe achs and pains, which I now endure by it. Welcome thou bleſſed deliverer! who, I truſt will free me from the clog of this dull clay, and elevate my ſoul above fleſh and blood; who wilt beſtow on me, till my old tenement the body be re-edified, a more light and glorious vehicle; through which I ſhall more eaſily ſee the beauty and lovelineſs of my God, and perceive ſomewhat of thoſe joys which I hope for at the reſurrection of the juſt. How does theſe thoughts, this glimpſe of my future happineſs, enliven my decaying habitation? How does it enſpirit my flying ſoul? and make it expect, with impatience, the minute when my Lord will come, and take me to himſelf? tho' I have been a great ſinner, and utterly unworthy the leaſt mercy, yet my humble hope is, that, through my dear Redeemer's precious merits and mediation, my heavenly Father will graciouſly accept of my hearty and ſincere endeavours of pleaſing him, and obeying his holy commandments; and that he will not overlook the meaneſt integrity of heart.

Farewel all ye my weeping friends; lament not my death, but prepare for your own. Farewel my dear relations, and make it your conſtant care to live ſo that we may meet again in heaven. I commend you all into God's hands, and my departing ſoul to the grace and mercy of my Redeemer. Come Lord Jeſus, come quickly!

And, O my God! let me die the death of the righteous, and let my laſt end be like his. Let thy grace enable me ſo to overcome the temptations of this enſnaring world, that I may not be afraid or aſhamed to die, and appear at thy dread-

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ful tribunal; but may lead my life in this world ſo watchfully, piouſly, righteouſly, ſoberly, and circumſpectly, that death may waft me over to the joys of a better life; and when I leave this world I may go to thee, the fountain of goodneſs, and reſt of holy ſouls! *Amen*, *Amen*, bleſſed Jeſus.

Feb. 2, $\frac{1659}{1660}$

VIII. *Upon occaſion of juſt having taken my Degree of Batchelor of Arts*

WITH how great deſire, and even impatience, does every one wait for the leaſt honour or advantage in this world! How earneſtly does our ſoul pant after the leaſt accommodation which it fancies will pleaſe, trim, and adorn it; and make it look a little conſiderable in the eyes of the reſt of mankind? with what heat, paſſion, and ardour of affection, are honours, dignities, and promotions, ſought after; as if they were an eſſential ingredient in beatitude; and, as if they would make a mighty acceſſion to the heap of thoſe goods, the accumulation of which is ſuppoſed to contain that which nature does incline us all to, plenary and perfect happineſs. This is the caſe of mankind when they are in the purſuit of honour and advantage. But when the deſire is accompliſhed, the dignity arrived at, inſtead of proving a tree of life (the emblem of compleat beatitude, and perfect contentment) as the ſatisfaction of reaſonable deſires is to the wiſe and moderate; it not ſeldom becomes a vexatious burthen; and we have more reaſon to wiſh it off our gall'd ſhoulders, than before we had to purſue it ſo furiouſly. But here what do men generally do in this caſe? Do they renounce and deſpiſe the gaudy happineſs with which they are adorned?

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Do they quietly return to their former condition? No ſuch matter: the gilded, and varniſhed troubles pleaſes awhile, and though they feel themſelves no better, perhaps worſe at eaſe within, yet to be look'd at, and cring'd to, makes full amends for all other things. And ſuch a one doubts not the next degree, the next ſtep of preferment, the next apartment in the temple of honour, will fully ſatisfy, and recompenſe his late diſappointment, and ſo with as ſwift a wing he ſpeeds on to the next ſtage of dignity, as he did to that which he is now poſſeſſed of; which, when arrived at, in the ſame manner pleaſes and takes with him awhile, till at laſt he is ſated and cloy'd with what he ſo ambitiouſly courted: yet he will not leave his beloved evil, his tickling torture; but inſenſible of his redoubled experience, vainly promiſes to himſelf peace, comfort, and full ſatisfaction, if he may be allowed to climb one degree higher; till at laſt, when he has this his ultimate wiſh, he grows giddy with the height, and falls lower than ever he was before, the example of the prudent, and laughter of fools. All this while I may ſeem to ſhoot very wide off the mark, and not to conſider on what occaſion I am meditating. But if it be conſidered that ſmall and great honour differ but in degree; and that a tradeſman will be as earneſt for the mayoralty of a ſmall town, as a duke for a kingdom proportionably; it will appear I have not wholly deviated from my propoſed ſubject. For at *Cambridge* I will maintain ſome will look as big, and be as proud and conceited upon the change of a year, or the obtaining the degree of batchelor, as *Alexander* on the conqueſts of *India*; or *Cæſar* on his victory over *Pompey* his rival for the empire of the world. Nay, you ſhall ſee a Soph, who never yet ſaw eighteen, as high and lordly, as hectoring and imperious, as if he was newly

made emperor in *Utopia*. So much does the desire of honour, and the fancy of being above others, prevail in all mankind. But to come close to the point. When I seriously consider my degree, and the duties belonging to it, or that are like to be subsequent of it, such as being at liberty, and at one's own dispose; and more from under the care of tutors and overseers; being thereby obliged to greater gravity, seriousness, and to carry one's self like men and scholars; the being shortly to be employ'd, if God spare life and health, in the sacred, and vastly important office of the ministry; and such like. These considerations, I say, rather induce me to sollicitude, and fervent prayer to God Almighty, that he would be pleased to take care of me, and enable me to discharge faithfully the several duties I am, or may hereafter be called to. I have very great cause I confess of adoring, blessing, and celebrating the name of my good God, who has kept me hitherto through all the dangers of infancy, childhood, and youth, and preserved me untainted from any of those notorious vices which abound every where, and especially who has been my guide, helper, and father, at *Cambridge*, where I have been far from my dear mother, and kind relations, and so more immediately committed to the Almighty's providence; and here, indeed, I have had various, and great instances of the tender care, and blessing of God, in preserving my soul free from those infectious vices which the university too much abounds withal; though I must acknowledge, with shame and regret, that I have often been chill'd and cool'd in my religion, with the constant worldly discourse, and converse; and the rare examples, among my equals, of a lively sense of God and religion; and with the too formal, though frequent and re-iterated exercise of

public

public devotion: though I ſay, from theſe things, and my own backwardneſs, and want of ſerious improvement of ſacraments, ſabbaths, and thoſe many excellent ſermons I have heard here, I cannot brag of much improvement as to my ſpiritual concerns; yet God has by no means been wanting with his grace, both preventing and aſſiſting to me, and has continued his mercy alſo to me to this very moment: and, in particular, has ſo far preſerved my health, under a weak frame of body, that I have never been ſo ill for any time as not to be able to help myſelf, and ſo commit myſelf to ſome who oft prove murderers, if reports be true, inſtead of nurſes. This I eſteem a very great favour, for methinks I could be content, if it pleaſed God, to endure much more ſickneſs under the care of my mother and friends, than at *Cambridge*; where I cannot have thoſe comforts and ſupports both for ſoul and body, as in the country I may reaſonably expect, from thoſe who have as well a nearer relation, as a greater affection for me. To my great and chief benefactor therefore do I addreſs myſelf.

O thou Father of mercies, through whom I was born; who haſt exerciſed a particular care and providence over me in ſoul and body all my life long; who haſt led me ſafely through the various ſtages of infancy, childhood, and youth; and haſt eſpecially manifeſted the care of my eternal intereſt, O thou lover of ſouls, in giving me pious parents, and inclining my heart to thee early, in keeping me out of temptation, and in preventing my going aſtray from thee, eſpecially at *Cambridge*, where ſo many temptations on every ſide did ſurround me; accept of this unfeigned ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving, which I offer to thy Majeſty, for all theſe, and all other thy innumerable and undeſerved benefits to me; who am leſs

than the leaſt of all thy mercies; and a miſerable offender againſt thy divine Majeſty, and holy laws. To thee I deſire to offer all laud, love, adoration, and bleſſing, for all theſe thy infinite favours. What am I, O Lord, that thou ſhouldſt ſo regard me, and be ſo loth that I ſhould periſh? what am I but duſt and aſhes, that the Lord of Glory ſhould lead me by the hand to this comfortable time, and not ſuffer my enemies to triumph over me? I thank thee for my life, health, food, cloathing, preſervation, protection, kind relations, and friends, and all other the mercies thou haſt heaped upon me as to this world; but above all, for what concerns another, the conſtant aſſiſtance of thy grace, checks of my conſcience, happy providences, and every thing elſe that thou haſt done in order to my ſalvation. To thee do I dedicate and devote myſelf ſoul and body, to be a reaſonable, holy, and lively ſacrifice, to be always employed in religion, or innocence, to do thy will, and obey all thy commandments. Do thou therefore pardon all my paſt ſins, and grant me thy grace, that hereafter I may always be dying to ſin, and riſing again to righteouſneſs, continually mortifying all my evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godlineſs of living. That I may perform every truſt and duty incumbent on me faithfully, and with an upright heart, do thou direct me as to my choice of my condition of life, and in all things in which I may ſtand in need of, that wiſdom which only flows from thee its ſource and fountain: and in whatſoever employment or place thy providence ſhall call me to, that I may obtain mercy to be faithful; and may always endeavour to have a conſcience void of offence towards thee, and towards all men; that when thou ſhalt call me out of this world, I may be willing to depart, and to be

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with Chriſt; ſaying with the apoſtle, *I have fought a good fight, I have finiſhed my courſe, I have kept the faith; henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteouſneſs, which the Lord the righteous judge ſhall give me at that day.* Grant all this, O Father! thro' *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, and Saviour. *Amen.*

Sept. 21, 1690.

IX. *Of Atheiſm ſpeculative and practical.*

IT was a noble ſaying of a heathen, that ſuppoſing he thought there were no God to govern the world, it would not be worth his while to live in it; and certainly, were all acknowledgment of a ſupreme all-ſeeing power baniſhed from among men, it would be highly eligible for a wiſe man to chooſe to be annihilated, and return to a ſtate of inſenſibility, or at leaſt to the condition of the brutes that periſh, rather than live among canibals and lawleſs monſters, (ſuch as mankind, by ſuch a diſbelief, would degenerate into) a prey to every one ſtronger than himſelf, and without any hope or glimmering expectation of ever ſeeing the world reformed; and in utter deſpair of ever enjoying himſelf better than he would then do. What comfort could a man reap in any affliction, if all were nothing but inexorable fate, or unthinking chance? whither ſhould a diſtreſſed innocent apply himſelf when he is unjuſtly condemned? what could engage a prudent man to generoſity, and patience under the irremediable load of worldly cares, troubles, diſappointments, and vexations? finally, where ſhould a ſick, dying creature addreſs his prayers? whither ſhould he look for a little ſupport and allay for his heart-piercing throws and pangs? and how, with any tolerable view, could he reflect on the king of ter-

ror's approach, and ſlide into an abhorred non-entity; as he muſt fancy at beſt. But far worſe is the atheiſt's caſe, if his conſcience awakes before he dies; and he finds, by its cutting laſhes, and dire forebodings; by its condemning ſentence, and dreadful foretelling the approaching Judgment, and ſubſequent burnings; that his ſullen and obſtinate incredulity has not annihilated the God of heaven, but only heated the fire of his indignation ſeven times hotter than otherwiſe it would have been; if, I ſay, the caſe ſhould ſtand thus with the guilty wretch, where now is the confidence with which he dared the Almighty? what will all his ſenſual pleaſures now confer to his comfort and ſatisfaction, and his jolly company, the clubs of debauchees; how will they be able to adminiſter one dram of conſolation in his greateſt need? miſerable, thrice miſerable man! thus to have, by thy own obſtinacy and infidelity, precluded all hope from thyſelf at thy latter end! thus to have been without God all thy life, but only to be thy torment at thy dying minute! ſo to have ſpent that life, which might have been improved into never-fading pleaſures in heaven, as to have precipitated thyſelf headlong into thoſe flames which have been thy ſport and paſtime, and now like to prey upon thee to all eternity! wretch that thou waſt! for a wanton, vile, contradictious humour; for a few fadeing, withering, beaſtly pleaſures; for a not conſiderable time of licentiouſneſs and uncleanneſs, of ſin and profaneneſs; for the ſake of ſome baſe, hectoring, damning companions; to have denied and provoked that infinite Being, which would have been thy ſupport and protector, thy hope and ſatisfaction, thy comforter and benefactor, and to have rendered him bound in juſtice to make good his inſupportable threats in thy everlaſting perdition! this, this is the ſad and deplorable caſe

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of an atheiſt awakened juſt as the pit of hell is opening its mouth to receive him; not to mention all the ſecret ſtings and goads of his conſcience in an affliction, or in a ſober interval; the meanneſs and puſillanimity his atheiſm betrays him into; the voice of nature, and the fears and miſgivings, leſt at laſt he ſhould be miſtaken, and ſo be loſt irrecoverably. This is the way of them that forget God, and endeavour to root out the belief of the being of their own omnipotent Creator, from the minds of men: and ſuch are the wages of their daring ſin, and hectoring profaneneſs. O my ſoul, come not thou into their ſecrets; enter not into their ſociety here, as ever thou deſireſt not to enjoy it hereafter. The condition of the ſpeculative atheiſt, as is deſcribed before, one would think were as bad, as miſerable as is any way poſſible to fancy. But yet the worſe half is yet to come; the folly of the former is notorious; but conſider awhile, and you will ſee the practical atheiſt is the greater fool, and more inexcuſable, and ſo, perhaps, muſt abide a greater puniſhment in hell. The other had ſo much cunning as to ſee the belief of a God would be a ſevere reſtraint to his jollities, and put a ſtop to his career of ſenſuality: he foreſaw his conſcience, if truſted with a belief of the almighty power and unrelenting juſtice, would be always an impertinent, troubleſome interrupter of his unhallowed mirth, and give him now and then a ſevere reprimand for his unreaſonable vices. Therefore he craftily undermines the root, and aims at the extirpation of that Being which he could not love, and imitate, and was loath to fear and dread. At leaſt providing, as well as he could, for a preſent enjoyment of ſin, if he fail of avoiding its puniſhment hereafter. But the man before us, the practical atheiſt, ſcorns to trouble himſelf with ſo prevailing a belief, contents

himſelf with following his ſwing of luſt at a venture, and reſolves *(vivens videnſque pereo)* let what will be the iſſue of it, he will have his vices; and, though his life be ſhort, the devil ſhall have as much of it as he can give him: come what will, he reſolves not to be a renegado, or turncoat; and though hell be the end of his Journey, he confeſſes, he finding much company in the road, is fixed to go with them, and ſhift hereafter as well as he can. He dares heaven, and openly in the face of God blaſphemes him by his actions, and ſeems fearful of nothing, but leſt he ſhould be a ſmall ſinner, and ſo ſhould have but ſmall torment in the other world. His conſcience tells him of his duty and obligations to God; of his breaches of the divine law; warns him of the ſeverity of abuſed patience, and affronted omnipotence; preſents to him the jaws of hell gaping to receive him, and ſets before his eyes the miſeries of an everlaſting hell, which muſt ſoon be his portion, without timely and ſerious repentance. Yet all this notwithſtanding, the hardened wretch ſtops his ears, runs to his companions, and ſo, with new ſins, takes away the remembrance of the former. But, O moſt miſerable man! what doſt thou do? with whom doſt thou contend? with the eternal God. What joys doſt thou loſe? pure and never-failing at God's right-hand for evermore. What torments doſt thou run ſtrait into? endleſs, cafeleſs, and remedileſs. And who can abide devouring fire? who can dwell with everlaſting burnings? conſider a little with thyſelf the joys which thou now haſt will be gone, and the torments preſent, what wilt thou then do? or to whom wilt thou flee for help and ſuccour? no one can be able to give thee any comfort or releaſe, but that Majeſty whom thou art rendering inexorable; and who is treaſuring up wrath againſt the day of his righteous

teous judgment, to pour down on thy head, and conſume thee with a never-dying death. What wilt thou do on a death-bed, when all thy friends cannot help thee, and the phyſician gives thee over for incurable? and how inexcuſable wilt thou be at the great day, when the doom which then will be pronounced has been thy free choice, and uncompelled election: *depart thou curſed into everlaſting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels*; *into outer darkneſs, where is weeping and gnaſhing of teeth, for evermore*; *where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.*

O my ſoul! envy thou not the ſinners, and chooſe none of their ways; for their ſteps lead to deſtruction, and the chambers of death. If theſe are the paths, ſuch the folly, and madneſs, and puniſhment of ſinners, and atheiſtical perſons, good Lord deliver me from them. Deliver me not into the bitter pains of eternal death! let my fleſh tremble for fear of thee, and make me ſo afraid of thy judgments, as to work out my ſalvation with fear and trembling, as to go through any the moſt irkſome and tedious duties of religion, rather than thus to fall into the hands of the living and incenſed God; who is a conſuming fire, and can deſtroy both ſoul and body in hell. Through *Jeſus Chriſt*, our Mediator and Redeemer. *Amen!*

X. *On occaſion of Mr.* Hollis's *death*, July 15, 1691. *and my being choſe Fellow the next day.*

SAD and miſerable is their end, who have lived without God in the world. Deplorable is their caſe, who never laid up a good foundation againſt the time to come, that they might lay hold on eternal life. Affrighting is the approach of death in any ſhape; but when it comes on a ſudden, in the midſt

midſt of jollity and drinking, debauchery and merry company, and on a ſudden ſeizes the trembling ſinner, and in a very little time hurries him out of this world; how much more terrible muſt it be! to be hurried from the noiſe and huzza's of a jolly aſſignation to the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt; from bowls of wine to the wrathful tribunal of an offended God; from ſinful time to a miſerable eternity; is an amazing ſcene of horror and aſtoniſhment, not to be mentioned without conſternation, nor thought of without a groan, nor remembered without commiſerating tears. Were death nothing but the meer leaving thoſe pleaſures, and being for ever deprived of thoſe bewitching paſtimes, it might torment the man with the thoughts of it: how much more when it is the departing from that life to another; from a careleſs world to a ſtrict judgment; and, to ill men, from vain jollities to intolerable torments. This proſpect of death ſhould ſpoil the mirth of ſecure ſinners, and dull all their jovial aſſignations; ſhould, like the hand-writing on the wall to *Belſhazzar*, make their joints tremble, and their knees ſmite one againſt another. One would think it impoſſible for any man of reaſon to be ſo fatally befool'd and faſcinated with the charms of ſin, as not to be awakened with the daily ſpectacles of mortality before his eyes; and rouzed out of his lethargy and ſtupidity by that doleful knell which ſhews his fellow-chriſtian to be newly launched into the ocean of eternity. One would think each funeral ſermon (which, if any thing can, will affect men) ſhould convert multitudes; and that, as *Solomon* ſays, *Thoſe that go to the houſe of mourning ſhould lay it to heart*, Eccleſ. vii. 2. But, alas! daily examples of careleſneſs and unconcernedneſs about theſe things, too plainly prove that nothing can affect a hardened ſinner; nothing can make him ſerious;

ſerious; no, not his neareſt relation's death before his eyes; thoſe who will not be wrought on by the word of God, are not often truly converted by the moſt aſtoniſhing accident, not would be perſwaded though one roſe from the dead. Men are a little ſtartled at the news of a friend's death, and the loſs of an old companion; and for a few hours perhaps have ſerious thoughts and reſolutions. But then the reſt of the club ſoon drive away ſuch melancholy whimſies, and the bottle is an infallible cordial, and comfortable diverſion from thoſe importunate and unwelcome reflections of their own conſciences, which, if followed on, might have made them happy for ever. Lord, let me in health ſerve thee, that thou mayſt be with me in ſickneſs, and at the hour of death. And let me not one moment remain in a condition, in which, if death does ſurprize me, I am for ever miſerable. Let me live the life of the righteous, that ſo I may die his death; and that my laſt end, how ſudden, or in what manner ſoever, may be like his, ſafe, ſecure, peaceable, and full of a joyful hope of a glorious immortality. *Amen.*

This ſudden providence, and ſurprizing accident of Mr. *Hollis*'s death, (who was merry enough but a week before at the commencement) ſeems providentially diſpoſed for my warning and caution, juſt upon my advancement to a fellowſhip; not to be proud and conceited, forgetful of God, and unmindful of eternity: and may be looked on as an awakening memento of mortality; than which there is not a more powerful argument to all diligence, ſobriety, watchfulneſs, and piety, while we have our lives continued to us. And, O that this, as well as other examples of mortality, may have their due influence on us all! in particular, may Mr. *Hollis*'s end effectually work upon all the members of this college, and make them more

more cautious of ſpending their time, more careful leſt their hearts be overcharged with ſurfeiting or drunkenneſs, and ſo the day of death overtake them unawares. May it be long conſidered and reflected on, till it puts them all upon a ſerious conſideration of their duties, and make them all anſwer the end of their maintenance in college, by conſtantly endeavouring, by their learning and religion, to ſet forth God's glory, and ſet forward the ſalvation of all men. And thoſe who are deſigned for the ſacred function, may they labour to ſave their own ſouls, and the ſouls of thoſe that hear them. As to my own advancement, I have reaſon to thank God, and acknowledge my friends kindneſs to me, who have, without the leaſt recommendation from any other friend, by their ſuffrages obtained this place for me. And I ſincerely beg of the divine Majeſty, that as he has hitherto ſhewn a very tender, fatherly care over me, as to ſpiritual and temporal concerns, for which I ought never to forget to bleſs and adore his holy name; and by his providence and ſpirit has guided me, and kept me hitherto; ſo that he would ſtill go on to do me good, and to perfect that which concerns me, and not forſake the work of his own hands: that he would keep me from evil, and in his fear continually, that I may not grow cold in, or backſlide from any part of my chriſtian duty, but grow in grace, and in that practical knowledge of his will, as may influence all my thoughts, paſſions, deſires, reſolutions and actions. That I may be faithful to the death, that ſo I may at length receive a crown of life. *Amen! Amen!* Bleſſed Father!

N. B. It will not be much out of the order of time, if I here ſubjoin that *Sermon*, or *Common-Place*, as we ordinarily call ſuch performances in colleges, at the commemoration of our benefactors at *Clare-*

Clare-Hall, preached *December* 17, 1698, it being ſhort, and ſuitable to the occaſion, and giving accidental hints at ſome irregularities of our college at that time, which may ſupply in part the loſs of that fore-mentioned paper, *Emendanda in Collegio*.

Clare-Hall, Decemb. 17, 1698.

DEUT. vi. 10, 11, 12.

It ſhall be when the Lord thy God ſhall give thee great and goodly cities which thou buildeſt not; and houſes full of all good things which thou filledſt not; and wells digged which thou diggedſt not; vineyards and olive-trees which thou plantedſt not; when thou ſhalt have eaten and be full; then beware leſt thou forget the Lord, which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt.

THESE words are part of a ſerious exhortation of the great legiſlator of the *Jews* to that people, after their deliverance out of *Egypt*, and before their admiſſion into the land of *Canaan*. In which he takes occaſion to remind them not only of the great obligations to the worſhip of the God of *Iſrael*, their great benefactor, from the conſideration of his miraculous deliverance of them from the *Egyptian* bondage already paſt; but farther aſſures them, that the ſame obligation would be mightily increaſed hereafter; and that the plentiful proviſion he would make for them, at the coſt and pains of their enemies, and the conveniences and advantages his providence would ſecure to them, without their own care or trouble, ought to be looked on as the greateſt tye poſſible to their duty and obedience. As if *Moſes* had ſaid, Almighty God, by the continuance of that merciful courſe of his gracious providence, which

which he has already begun, and out of his tender care of you, his choſen people, will in a ſhort time compleat your deliverance, and ſettle you with peace and ſecurity, with plenty and abundance, in the *Land of Promiſe.* He will, in a little while, bleſs *you*, who have hitherto endured the inconveniences of a wilderneſs, and of a wandering and uncertain ſtate, with cities and houſes of your own; and thoſe great and goodly, well furniſhed and adorned: he will bleſs you alſo with wells of water for your neceſſities, and with wine and oil for your pleaſure and entertainment: In ſhort, he will make every way ſuch plenty and abundance round about you, that it will be in your power to enjoy all the pleaſures of affluence, and all the delicacies and ſatisfactions of a wealthy and an eaſy ſtate of life. This will ſoon be your condition after you arrive at the land of *Canaan:* but when this is your caſe, be not like ungrateful *Jeſhurun, who waxed fat and kicked; who forſook God that made him, and lightly eſteemed the rock of his ſalvation*, Deut. xxxii. 15. Remember who it is to whom all the happineſs is owing, and that every bleſſing you receive from God is to be returned back in gratitude and obedience. Conſider the ends and intentions of all the divine goodneſs to you; to lead you to repentance; to encourage your religious ſervices; to take off from you the burdens of poverty, and the diſtractions and interruptions of want, in order to your enjoying more time, and employing with greater alacrity more of your ſpare hours in the offices of his worſhip. Do not forget when you reflect upon your brave cities, your fine houſes, your handſome furniture, your conveniences for pleaſure, as well as neceſſaries for life, that all theſe advantages were not originally your own, nor from yourſelves; were not the product of your

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own induſtry or diligence, but the proper gifts of Almighty God, and the ſole effects of his goodneſs and love to you. When you think upon your cities or your houſes, remember withal they were not of your own building, nor enlarged and furniſhed at your own coſt; but by thoſe enemies whom the power of God alone has diſpoſſeſſed for you. Whenever you make uſe of the water of your wells, or of the wine and oil of your plantations, conſider it was others that digged the former, and planted the latter; and that it is only the title of God's donation by which you claim a right to any of theſe things. Beware therefore leſt you, who are but tenants or ſtewards, behave yourſelves as if you were lords and poſſeſſors. Take heed leſt that abundant proviſion the divine bounty has made for you, have ſo fatal and miſchievous an effect as to encourage your ſloth, your luxury, your pride, and your irreligion. Then above all times, *beware leſt thou forget the Lord; leſt thou be unmindful of the rock that begat thee, and forgetteſt the God that formed thee*, Deut. xxxii. 18.

In theſe words therefore we may obſerve how much Almighty God expects from thoſe who are plentifully provided for by his providence; and particularly from thoſe who are taken care of by ſuch means as themſelves could not have any hand in, but accrue to them from the labours and wealth of others, without any pains and toil of their own in the acquiſition; which, by the bleſſing of God, and the liberality of thoſe our pious and generous founders and benefactors, whom we are now met thankfully to commemorate, is our caſe at preſent; and will therefore be a ſubject very ſuitable for our meditations at this time. The obſervation therefore which the words of the text afford us, if we conſider them with a peculiar

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regard to our own circumſtances, and as appropriated to our preſent buſineſs is this: that [the plentiful proviſion which is in this place made for us, and] the great advantages we reap by the liberality of our benefactors to us, lays a mighty obligation upon us to obedience to that God, whoſe providence by ſuch methods takes care of us; and to a careful anſwering the pious intentions of thoſe who aimed at the glory of God, and the good of men, and not our bare private maintenance in thoſe endowments they have ſettled upon us.

In diſcourſing upon which, I ſhall (1.) enquire whence, and from what heads this obligation ariſes. (2.) What our principal obligations themſelves are, or to what duties and offices we are in particular obliged by the enjoyment of theſe advantages. (1.) I am to enquire whence, or from what heads our obligation in the preſent caſe does ariſe. And I think, I need not go farther in ſearch after theſe points, than thoſe three obvious particulars which immediately preſent themſelves to our conſideration. (1.) This obligation ariſes from ſtrict and abſolute juſtice. (2.) From that branch of juſtice which ties us to veracity, and the performance of our promiſes. (3.) From gratitude, and the ſenſe of favours beſtowed upon us.

I. This obligation ariſes from ſtrict and abſolute juſtice. For we ought not to think, that the great advantages we here enjoy belong to us as an eſtate of inheritance belongs to the immediate heir: ſo that without any more ado, we may eſteem them our own, and behave ourſelves under them as we pleaſe. But we are to look upon them as beſtowed upon us conditionally, and with at leaſt a tacit agreement and covenant, that our true right and property ſhall depend on our good behaviour, and on our faithful performance of thoſe duties and

offices, whether of piety or charity, which ſuch generous endowments were deſigned to promote. As it is in all our worldly poſſeſſions with regard to Almighty God; ſo is it, in ſome meaſure, in our collegiate enjoyments, with regard to our founders and benefactors. For as our title to this world's goods, when conſidered with reſpect to other men, is by no means founded on our goodneſs and virtue; and ſo is intirely valid in human judicatures, be our morals never ſo bad, and our lives never ſo ſcandalous; tho' at the ſame time we are but ſtewards under the great poſſeſſor of heaven and earth, and muſt be accountable to him for the abuſe of all thoſe things, whoſe abſolute title and property he ever reſerved to himſelf. So in the caſe before us, we may have ſo juſt and legal a right to the advantages belonging to a collegiate ſociety, that none can, or ought to diſpoſſeſs us; while at the ſame time we may be ſo little careful of our duties here, and ſo little anſwer the main ends and intentions of our foundation, (in view of ſecuring which theſe endowments were made, and which are a tacit condition implied in the very nature of the donation itſelf) that we may juſtly be called to account hereafter for our unjuſt intruſion; or, at leaſt, unworthy miſmanagement and abuſe of ſo great, and ſo well-deſigned benefactions. If we be willing to enjoy the *benefits*, we ought never to think ourſelves excuſed from the *duties* of a college. And I cannot tell whether we ought in juſtice, and with a ſafe conſcience, to reap the advantages, if we be not careful to diſcharge the offices, and perform the truſt belonging to thoſe, by the expreſs will of the donors, who are intitled to them. I am ſure it will deſerve every one of our ſober conſiderations, how hard it will lie upon us at the laſt day, if we have, for a long time, ventured to live upon the profits of a learned

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and religious foundation, and all the while have had no regard to thoſe great ends and conditions annexed to them; and what we ſhall be able to plead in our own behalf, if, inſtead of purſuing with all ſincerity the glory of God, the advancement of learning and religion, the diſpoſing ourſelves for the ſervice of Chriſt's church, and the doing good to the ſouls of men (which our very acceptance of theſe benefits implies our obligation to) we make no other uſe of them, than to live an eaſy and pleaſurable life; and to privilege ourſelves from the buſineſs and offices, whether of piety or humanity, which otherwiſe in the world we ſhould be unable ſo readily to avoid. And if the mere omiſſion of our duty, and the ſingle unprofitableneſs of our lives here be ſo criminal, and ſo perilous, how much more ſo muſt be the poſitive abuſe of our plenty and leiſure; the actual diſcouraging of virtue or learning; the affording real examples of intemperance, profaneneſs, lewdneſs, or debauchery; and thereby doing all we can to hinder and prevent thoſe pious intentions of our religious founders and benefactors, which we ought, with all our might, to promote in the world? Such as theſe are ſo far from having a proper right and title to what they have from theſe charitable foundations, that, if thoſe who ſettled them could be ſuppoſed capable of reviewing the ſad miſ-employment of their donations, they would be under a temptation of repenting of the whole benefaction, upon the account of thoſe abuſes in ſome parts thereof; and would be ready to uſe the moſt violent means to free their endowments from ſuch ungrateful and unjuſt uſurpers, who ſhould ſo wretchedly pervert their pious deſign, as to lead men down to the chambers of ſin and death, by thoſe very means, which were fitted and intended for the promoting of mens holineſs here, and happineſs hereafter.

II. This obligation is alſo founded on that part of juſtice which requires veracity, and the performance of our promiſes. All we, who, in the moſt peculiar ſenſe, are members of this collegiate ſociety, have ſolemnly engaged ourſelves at our admiſſion thereinto, to obſerve the pious rules and ſtatutes of our foundations; and do our utmoſt alſo to induce all others of our body to obſerve the ſame. And tho' the change of times and circumſtances may ſometimes make it leſs neceſſary to urge the actual obſervance of the letter of every ancient conſtitution; yet the main deſign of the foundation itſelf, and all thoſe rules and ſtatutes which really tend to promote the ſame, I mean, all which are neceſſary or uſeful for the peace, the diſcipline, the ſobriety, and diligence of the members of the ſociety; or, in ſhort, are proper to encourage the good, and diſcourage the bad; to advance true religion, and diſcountenance ungodlineſs and impiety amongſt us: all theſe rules and ſtatutes, I ſay, we are to obſerve inviolably; or elſe we muſt needs incur the heinous ſin of perjury: and be not only unjuſt intruders into others poſſeſſions, but perfidious and forſworn perſons alſo. And tho' this obligation does chiefly belong to thoſe who are moſt ſtrictly members, and have by their own voluntary engagement and oath particularly bound themſelves to the rules and ſtatutes of the ſociety; yet even thoſe others, who are members in a leſs degree, ought not to think themſelves, even on this account, wholly free and at liberty; the very deſire and acceptance of admiſſion into a ſociety, which is known to be under certain laws and inſtitutions, being a tacit agreement to them, and implying ſome kind of promiſe of the obſervation of the ſame. So that upon the whole, no one among us can intirely be diſengaged, even

even in point of veracity and faithfulneſs to his promiſes, from obeying the pious rules of our ſociety, from the endeavouring with all zeal and ſincerity to promote the great ends of this, and all other ſuch like religious and charitable foundations, the advancement of virtue, learning, and true religion in the world.

III. This obligation is alſo founded upon gratitude, or the ſenſe of favours beſtowed upon us. And this particular, to be ſure, reaches every one of us, and ought to ſecure our univerſal compliance to all that is good and uſeful in this ſociety, of which we are members; and that whether we regard thoſe generous founders and benefactors, by whoſe immediate bounty we are maintained, or whether we go a ſtep farther, and have reſpect to the providence of God; which is the ultimate ſource and original of all our bleſſings. And ſure, in the firſt place, if we go no farther than our immediate founders and benefactors, we have ſuch mighty obligations to them, as ſhould be abundantly ſufficient, even tho' they had only deſired, and not at all commanded any of thoſe duties which are proper in ſuch ſocieties; according to all the rules of generoſity and good-nature, to ſecure their performance. If we had been only told by their laſt wills and teſtaments, that they, out of a ſenſe of God's mercy, in beſtowing this world's goods upon them, and for the continual advancement of the chriſtian religion, and promoting of all thoſe ſciences, thoſe offices, that virtuous behaviour, and unblameable converſation, which ſhould moſt adorn and advance the ſame; and particularly, in order to the ſtrict and regular, the ſober, pious, ſtudious, and religious education of thoſe who might afterwards enter upon the moſt ſacred function of the miniſtry, and become learned and ex-

emplary preachers of the gospel, that they, for these great and noble ends and purposes, did bequeath such large portions of their estates for a collegiate foundation; conjuring all those who should in future ages, to the end of the world, be partakers of the benefits of their endowments, that, without any other force or tie upon them, as ever they had any sense of gratitude to themselves, and inclination to fulfil the last requests and dying words of their benefactors, they would strictly and constantly perform the duties of their places, and answer the ends of their institution. [Nay, as ever they hoped to see them with alacrity and comfort at the last day.] If, I say, we had no other obligations laid upon us, than such parting desires of our founders and benefactors (which are no other than the just construction, if not sometimes also the proper sense of those writings, those wills and testaments, by which our colleges were settled and established for us) we must forfeit our pretence to all that is humane, if we reject these obligations of gratitude, and can resolve to behave ourselves still, as if we owed no acknowledgments to them. And shall even the most pressing and affectionate intreaties of our best and most generous benefactors, have no manner of influence upon us; even when they importune us only to take care of our duty, and so, by consequence, to secure our present and our future happiness! But if this part of gratitude, which regards men, and those who are the bare instruments of our blessings, should be too weak to affect us; yet sure the other part, which regards Almighty God, the fountain and origin of all our enjoyments, will prove stronger, and engage us effectually to a ready return of duty and obedience, in consideration of his peculiar bounty to us, and that plentiful provision he has made for us in this place. We, indeed, can only see

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the external means which confer theſe benefits upon us; but cannot ſo readily obſerve that inviſible hand, which ſecretly, but moſt properly, orders and diſpoſes of all events, and beſtows the good things of this life on whomſoever it pleaſeth.

It was the complaint of God, by his prophet *Hoſea*, Ch. ii. 8, 9, 12. concerning the people of *Iſrael* in their plentiful ſtate, that they did not take notice of his ſecret providence and bounty in that affluence they enjoyed, nor uſe it to his ſervice as they ought to have done; and threatens, that, to convince them of their ingrateful and wicked miſtake, he would take it away from them. *She did not know that I gave her corn, and wine, and oil, and multiplied her ſilver and gold: therefore will I return, and take away my corn in the time thereof; and my wine in the ſeaſon thereof; and will recover my wool and my flax, and will deſtroy her vines and her fig-trees.* And the like complaint, I am afraid, the Almighty may but too juſtly take up againſt the preſent, as well as the paſt generations; nay, againſt us in particular, who in this place enjoy ſo many of his bleſſings, and are ſo abundantly provided for by his gracious providence over us. And I wiſh we may every one be for the future ſo deeply ſenſible of the divine Goodneſs to us, in theſe our great advantages here, that eaſe and ſecurity; that maintenance and leiſure; that freedom from the cares and troubles of life; that happy opportunity of an ingenious and learned education, as may in ſome good meaſure correſpond to the proportion of God's mercies, and oblige us to ſhew our grateful reſentment of them, not only with our lips, but in our lives; not only with verbal praiſes and acknowledgments, which yet are very fit and ſuitable in our caſe; but with a great zeal for God's honour, with a fervent endeavour of doing good in our places, with a hearty dedication of our time and

lives to the ſervice of our Saviour; and, in one word, with leading a godly, a righteous, and a ſober life, both during our ſtay here, and in our future behaviour in the world: which are the beſt expreſſions of our thankfulneſs to God; the beſt returns to the kindneſs of our benefactors; and will yield us the greateſt comfort both now in our own mind, and at the laſt day of account. Which brings me to the

IId general head of my diſcourſe, which is to enquire what our principal obligations themſelves are; or to what duties and offices we are in particular obliged by the enjoyment of theſe advantages of our religious foundations. And here, becauſe the time will by no means give me leave to be at all large, I ſhall confine myſelf to a few particulars; and only take occaſion to recommend to your practice three things, the obſervance of which will be of ſpecial advantage in a collegiate ſociety, and will, in great part, ſecure the main deſigns of theſe charitable endowments.

And thoſe three things I ſhall pitch upon ſhall, agreeably to the known diviſion of our duty to God, to ourſelves, and to our neighbours, be (1.) The conſtant attendance upon the worſhip of God in this place. (2.) A ſtrict temperance and ſobriety towards ourſelves. (3.) A diligent improvement of ourſelves in learning for the advantage of others.

(1.) We, who by the good providence of God are here ſo plentifully maintained, and ſecured from the cares and buſineſs of the world, are under a mighty obligation to a conſtant and ſerious attendance upon the worſhip of God in this place. This is one of the principal deſigns of all retired and monaſtic ſocieties, and was undoubtedly a main part of the intentions of our religious founders, that

that being ſequeſtered from the common toils and anxieties of life, we ſhould, with leſs interruption and diſtraction, every day apply ourſelves to devotion; that we ſhould continually own the divine providence, and implore its bleſſings on our ſtudies and enquiries; that we ſhould begin and end every day with the more immediate ſervice of God, and attain, by degrees, that devout and heavenly temper of mind, which may direct all our ſtudies to the ſervice of religion, and devote even our profane learning to the miniſtry of the altar. And it will be worthy our care to provide, that, while we are labouring to improve ourſelves in human ſciences, we at the ſame time may not neglect what is of much greater importance, I mean, that heavenly-mindedneſs, devotion, reſignation to the will, and dependance upon the goodneſs of the Almighty: In ſhort, that divine nature, and god-like diſpoſition of ſoul, which is the perfection of the chriſtian life here on earth, and will make us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the ſaints in light hereafter in heaven. And give me leave in this place to ſay, that as this conſtant and ſerious attendance upon the publick prayers, is a duty incumbent upon all who are, in any degree, members of our ſociety; ſo is it moſt eſpecially ſo, of thoſe who enjoy the greateſt advantages, and have the principal ſhare in the government of the ſame. It is an obſervation that is ſometimes made, (and I fear me is not always without truth;) that thoſe who enjoy leſs of the advantages, and ſo are, on that account, under ſmaller ties to our daily morning and evening ſacrifice of prayer, are yet, by ſome motives or other prevailed upon to a more conſtant and uninterrupted attendance on the ſame, than, perhaps, ſome of thoſe whoſe years and conſideration, to ſay nothing of any other motives, ought to prevail upon

upon them to ſet a better example, and take a better care of the conſtancy of their devotions. Nay, I doubt ſome have been ſo ready to betray the imperfection of their religion in this point, that they have choſe that very time for the ſlackening their attendance on theſe daily prayers, when, by their admiſſion to the higheſt benefits and advantages of the ſociety, they were under a new and ſtricter obligation to a greater conſtancy; and when their example and authority was likely to have a greater influence on the reſt of the college. Which obſervations, if in any caſe true, are ſo ſhameful, that a juſt indignation will not permit me to wave the taking notice of them. And I wiſh that all future obſervations may ſhew, that every one concerned is ſo conſtant, as well as ſerious, in the worſhip of God in this place, that no one may be able to make any reflections of this nature; but that all of us, from the higheſt to the loweſt, as far as our health, our age, and our neceſſary engagements will allow, may meet unanimouſly together, and join univerſally, with one heart and one voice, in the prayers and praiſes which are here offered to the Almighty: it being not fit for us to expect, that our inferiors ſhould be by us obliged to a conſtant attendance on thoſe prayers, which we ourſelves but rarely frequent; and our ſociety never to be ſo properly ſtiled a religious one, as when equal numbers appear in the chapel at their devotion, as do the like in the college upon the other occaſions of life.

But (2.) beſides devotion towards God, we of theſe collegiate ſocieties are under the higheſt obligations to temperance and ſobriety towards ourſelves. And, indeed, this is a duty that has a very neceſſary dependance on the nature of our foundations; which are no other than thoſe of charity. And ſure it is the groſſeſt piece of abuſe of

of the charity of our founders, to ſpend in extravagancies that allowance, which was only intended for the relief of our neceſſities, and the aſſiſtance of our learning. But to wave that conſideration, there is another, which ought to have the greateſt influence upon us in this caſe; and it is this: that nothing has more contributed to the diſhonour of our way of education here; to the reproach of the beſt of churches; and to the rendring its clergy contemptible, and their labours unſucceſsful; and to the increaſing the unreaſonable diviſions and ſeparations in this kingdom, than the general opinion of the too free and looſe courſe of life which ſome amongſt us, and that without any effectual diſcouragement, are ſuppoſed to lead. How far this opinion or prejudice taken up againſt us is falſe, or at leaſt aggravated by our enemies, as is too uſual in all ſuch caſes, I ſhall not now enquire. But I ſhall only ſay, God ſend our future reformation in this point, (of ſo vaſt importance to the well-being of our whole community, nay, of the whole church of *England*,) may be remarkable enough to ſilence even our ſharpeſt enemies; and may every one of us in particular, who either have already, or are here deſigning to take upon us the holy office of the miniſtry, be ſo far from any inſtances of rioting, or exceſs, that, with the bleſſed apoſtle St. *Paul*, we may be temperate in all things; and be on the other ſide diſpoſed to beat under our bodies, and bring them into ſubjection; leſt, when we have preached to others, we ourſelves ſhould at laſt become caſtaways. 1 *Cor.* ix. 25, 27.

(3.) Laſtly, we, who enjoy the advantages of theſe generous foundations, are under a mighty obligation, not only to devotion towards God, and ſobriety towards ourſelves, but alſo to diligence in our ſtudies and learning, in order to the advantage

vantage of others. Since the extraordinary effuſions of the gifts of the bleſſed ſpirit are ceaſed in the church, thoſe qualifications which are proper to fit us for the underſtanding the holy ſcriptures, for the propagation of chriſtianity, for the converſion of infidels, for the edification of believers, and for the maintenance of true religion in the world, are to be acquired, under the divine bleſſing, by our own labour and diligence; by conſtant ſtudy and application. And this acquiſition of ſolid and uſeful learning was generally one principal intention in all the collegiate foundations of the chriſtian world, as well as of ours in particular. So that a diligent purſuit of uſeful knowledge, and ſound learning, muſt needs be one of the great duties which is incumbent on us all in this place; and which no ſecurity of a perpetual proviſion ought to excuſe us from, nor any ability of living without the dependance on learning for our ſubſiſtence, ought to diſcourage us in. Let us all then, upon the conſideration of the bounty of our benefactors, and that plentiful proviſion of books, the inſtruments of learning, as well as of a liberal maintenance, without our own ſolicitude about it, which is the great encouragement to the ſame; let us, I ſay, look upon ourſelves obliged both to a conſtant application to our ſtudies; and, by all proper means, to the aſſiſtance and encouragement of thoſe who do ſo likewiſe. That being the true welfare and happineſs of a ſociety for learning, when all the primary members of it do not only apply themſelves to the improvement of their own, knowledge, but do all they can, that thoſe, and only thoſe, who, to their piety and good morals, have added diligence in their ſtudies, and made the beſt progreſs in learning, may have encouragement and advancement in the ſociety: and when deſert and preferment conſtantly accompany

pany one another in a college, then and only then, do we intirely ſecure the ends of a collegiate body, and take an effectual care that the ſame ſhall be ſecur'd for the future generations alſo. To conclude, God grant, that we may lead ſuch pious and devout, ſuch temperate and ſober, ſuch diligent and ſtudious lives, in this religious ſociety, inſtituted by our generous and bountiful benefactors, whom we are now to commemorate, that we may bring glory to God, and ſecure our own and others everlaſting ſalvation, in the great day of the Lord *Jeſus*. To whom, *&c.*

But to go on now with my other materials.

In the year 1692, Dr. *Bentley* preached Mr. *Boyle*'s lectures; which, indeed, were the firſt that were preached; and, perhaps, are the moſt valuable of all that great critick's performances. Herein he demonſtrated the Being and providence of God, from Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s wonderful diſcoveries, to ſuch a degree of ſatisfaction, as to the ſcepticks or infidels themſelves, that he informed me himſelf, of a club of ſuch people, who had heard his ſermons, and were aſked by a friend of his, at his deſire, What they had to ſay againſt them? they honeſtly owned, they did not know what to ſay. But added withal, what is this to the fable of *Jeſus Chriſt?* Which made him ſay, that he doubted he had done harm to chriſtianity by thoſe ſermons; as occaſioning theſe ſcepticks or infidels to divert from their denial of a God and a providence, from which they might be always driven with great eaſe, to the picking up objections againſt the bible in general; which would certainly afford them a much larger field for contradiction. But this has been already related in my aſtronomical principles of religion, page 243.

Very ſoon after the preaching of theſe ſermons it was, that Dr. *Bentley*, as he informed me himſelf,

ſelf, went to biſhop *Lloyd*, of whom he had then the greateſt opinion, both as to his ſkill in chronology and the ſcriptures, and particularly in the ſcripture-propheſies; and this, in order to ſee, whether it might not be fit for him to inſert ſome of his predictions from thoſe propheſies into a preface to thoſe ſermons; that upon their completion they might be of ſervice to chriſtianity; upon ſome of which propheſies he alſo himſelf preached part of his ſecond year's ſermons; as his relation, who is now in poſſeſſion of thoſe ſermons, as well as another friend of mine who heard ſome of them, have informed me; though he never printed them; the reaſon of which will appear by what follows. For, upon his application to the biſhop, and the biſhop's frank and open anſwers, he was ſo far from being ſatisfied, that he immediately began to ſuppoſe, that his diſappointment aroſe from the ſacred books of *Daniel* and the *Revelation* themſelves, and not only from his own, or the biſhop's miſunderſtanding them. He was offended, that the biſhop underſtood a *day* in the propheſies to denote a *year* in their completion; as all expoſitors had done before him, and as the ancient language of propheſy plainly imply'd. [See *Eſſay on the Revelation*, 2d Edition, page 5—18.] Nay, ſo greatly was he offended at this interpretation, that he long afterward bluntly aſked Sir *Iſaac Newton* himſelf (with whom I had brought him acquainted about *A. D.* 1696.) who thus expounded the propheſies alſo, whether he could *demonſtrate* the ſame. Sir *Iſaac Newton* was ſo greatly offended at this, as invidiouſly alluding to his being a *mathematician*; which ſcience was not concerned in this matter; that he would not ſee him, as Dr. *Bentley* told me himſelf, for a twelvemonth afterward. Nay, ſo far did he carry this matter, as to perſuade the learned Mr. *Daubuz*, though in the way of banter only, but

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ſuch a banter as Mr. *Daubuz* did not perceive, that he ought to demonſtrate this expoſition, not *a poſteriori* only, as did others; but *a priori* alſo; which he injudiciouſly attempted to do, in the preface to his *Expoſition of the Apocalypſe*; which expoſition yet, on account of the great critical ſagacity of its author therein ſhewed, Dr. *Bently* had in high eſteem. He pretended alſo, that there had never been a verſion of *Daniel* made by the *Septuagint* interpreters; which yet is notoriouſly known to have been ſeveral times quoted by the moſt ancient fathers; altho' this was afterwards baniſhed out of the church, by *Theodotion*'s verſion. Nay, when Dr. *Bentley* was courting his lady, who was a moſt excellent chriſtian woman, he had like to have loſt her, by ſtarting to her an objection againſt the book of *Daniel*, as if its author, in deſcribing *Nebuchadnezzar*'s image of gold, *Daniel* vi. to be 60 cubits high, and but 6 cubits broad, knew no better, than that mens height were 10 times their breadth, whereas it is well known to be not more than 6 times. Which made the good lady weep. While the ſtatue, with a pedeſtal, might eaſily be 10 times high, even ſuppoſing it were a figure of a man; which yet is not at all in the text. It might be an idol ſtanding on the top of a pillar; as there is, I remember, one in old *Perſepolis*, as the cuts of it in one of our latter travellers demonſtrates. He aimed alſo to pick a quarrel with ſome ſmall niceties in *Daniel*'s chronology; and ſuppoſed the book to have been written after the time of *Onias*, the high prieſt; and that this *Onias* was *Daniel*'s *Meſſiah*; and the ſlaughter of this *Onias* at *Antioch* was the *cutting off the Meſſiah*. *Dan.* ix. 26. 2 *Maccabees* ii. 34, 35. In ſhort, he was very deſirous to get clear of the authority of the book of *Daniel*. Yet, when he was put in mind how our bleſſed Saviour expreſly quoted this book,

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as written by *Daniel* the prophet himſelf, *Matt.* xxiv. 9. *Mar.* xiii. 14. *Luke* xxi. 20; he told Dr. *Clarke*, from whom I had it, that at firſt this made his *Hairs ſtand an End:* but that at laſt he pretended that was done only *ad hominem*, as we ſpeak; or by way of condeſcenſion to the *Jewiſh* prejudices. He alſo tried to run down the *Apocalypſe*, as not written by the apoſtle *John*; tho' I told him it agreed to his own character of St. *John*'s ſtile, which he had obſerved to have much fewer particles of connection, ſuch as ἔν, δὲ, γὰρ κ. τ. λ. than the other evangeliſts. He alſo talked ludicrouſly of this author's *heads and horns*. And he alſo tried to find ſome perſons or times to which the author might allude; as he had fancied of *Onias* for *Daniel*. However, he confeſſed, that he had not then been able to do it, but hoped he ſhould find it ſome other time. Theſe accounts I had from his own mouth. But what he ſaid of *Iſaiah*'s naming *Cyrus* ſo long before he was born, *viz.* that he ſuppoſed it an interpolation, I had at ſecond-hand from a learned biſhop: But it ſo exactly agrees with what I had from his own mouth, concerning *Daniel* and the *Apocalypſe*, that I have no doubt of the truth of it. Nor need any one hereafter wonder at Dr. *Bentley*'s *Scepticiſm*, as to both the *Old and New Teſtament*. But take notice, that I only ſay *Scepticiſm*, not *Infidelity*. For I take the evidence for the truth of the *Bible* to be ſo prodigiouſly ſtrong, in all original authors, that no perſons, ſo learned as Dr. *Bentley* and Dr. *Hare*, can, I believe, by any temptation, proceed further than *Scepticiſm:* How much farther ſoever comparatively ignorant and unlearned writers, I mean, ſuch as *Collins*, *Tindal*, *Toland*, *Morgan*, and *Chubb*, may have proceeded in their groſſer degrees of infidelity.

As to Dr. *Bentley*'s grand diſpute with Mr. *Boyle*, and his learned friends at *Oxford*, about the

the epiſtles of *Phalaris*, which was eſteemed then ſo important, that the great biſhop *Lloyd* was drawn into the chronological part of it; and which then made a mighty noiſe in the world; I cannot but wonder, that any ſerious clergymen ſhould ſatisfy themſelves to divert from their ſacred employment, and enter into ſuch uſeleſs and trifling ſpeculations. Laymen, I allow it, may divert themſelves as well with ſuch literary amuſements, as with hunting, or hawking: but for clergymen, who are to *give themſelves wholly* to ſacred matters, 1 *Tim.* iv. 15. *To avoid fooliſh and unlearned queſtions, knowing that they do gender ſtrifes.* 2 Tim. ii. 23. How they can ſatisfy their conſciences in ſo doing, *if they be in earneſt in their religion*, is hard, exceeding hard, to ſay.

If any wonder, that I added Dr. *Hare* to Dr. *Bentley*, as a kind of ſceptick, I ſhall give my reaſons for ſo doing. Tho' when I firſt publiſhed my *Eſſay on the Revelation*, Dr. *Hare* greatly attended to it (which eſſay had alſo preſerved a courtier, a friend of mine, from infidelity for a great while; and which, among other books upon the prophecies, had intirely recovered the late lord *Abercorn*, a conſiderable member of the Royal Society, from his ſcepticiſm or infidelity; as he fully owned to me himſelf long before his death:) yet did Dr. *Hare* ſo accuſtom himſelf to talk ludicrouſly of ſacred matters; (which Mr. *Rundle* greatly complained of to me, when I firſt introduced him to Dr. *Cannon* and his acquaintance.) He was for laying wagers about the fulfilling of ſcripture-prophecies, in the ſame ludicrous way: nay, when he wrote about the difficulties and diſcouragements to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, he could not forbear doing it after a ludicrous manner, tho' he ſeemed then to mean it very honeſtly: he was greatly familiar with Dr. *Cannon*, one of the greateſt ſcepticks that ever was

born. He put ſuch a ſlight upon our moſt authentick hiſtorian *Joſephus*, in the preface to his pſalms, which hardly any but ſuch ſcepticks ever do. Nay, he once blabb'd out to me, that grand ſecret which I ſuppoſe Dr. *Cannon* had aſſerted: *viz.* that "He feared Chriſt and his apoſtles were "ſo weak, as to depend on the double ſenſe of "prophecies for the truth of chriſtianity:" ſuch as *Grotius*, and all our late modern commentators admit of; and which even ſuch ſtill later learned men as biſhop *Chandler*, and Dr. *Clarke*, made uſe of; till I, upon Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s original ſuggeſtion, ſhewed them the contrary. It now fully appearing, that ſuch fooliſh expoſitions were ſo far from being uſed in the firſt or ſecond centuries, that they are no older than the fourth; and were indeed mainly introduced by the learned *Jerome*, in order to apologize for ſome knaviſh quotations of his out of his *Hebrew* copies. [See *Sacred Hiſtory of the New Teſtament*, page 334, 335.] And I well remember, that when I once told Dr. *Hare*, that I feared Dr. *Cannon* had made him a ſceptick, his reply was, That he was not ſo great a ſceptick as Dr. *Cannon*. No, ſaid I, you are a better ſcholar: for as Dr. *Cannon* thought mathematicks themſelves, with Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s philoſophy built thereon, to be uncertain, as being no mathematician himſelf; Dr. *Hare* being a pretty good mathematician, could not go ſo great a length with him. But as for Dr. *Cannon*, he was ſo thorough a ſceptick in religion, that had not my lord *Townſhend* prevailed with him to the contrary, he was once reſolved to have caſt off his gown and caſſock; and refuſed to have allowed himſelf to be a clergyman any longer; yet would he join with the church in ſigning the thirty nine articles, without believing them, as legal qualifications for preferment only, and join with the *Athanaſian* creed itſelf

itſelf in the cathedral at *Ely*, at a time when I was there and refuſed it. I aſked him, How one that believed ſo very little could join in a thing ſo abſurd; his anſwer was, *What is one man's meat, is another man's poiſon.* He alſo told Mr. *Jackſon*, that if he were at *Paris*, he would declare himſelf a roman catholick; and if he were at *Conſtantinople*, he would declare himſelf a *muſſulman*, as taking religion to be an engine to promote peace in this world, rather than happineſs in the next. He was ready to wonder at Mr. *Jackſon* for believing St. *Paul* before himſelf, when they were of contrary ſentiments. So great an opinion had he of his own ſagacity. Yet, when he came to write a ſmall pamphlet about the convocation, of which he was a member, it appeared to be a very contemptible performance: which opinion of mine, when I plainly told him, he had little to ſay in his own juſtification. Only ſo much juſtice I muſt do him, that, when biſhop *Trimnell*, my old intimate friend, and Dr. *Cannon*, with whom I had long had great acquaintance, and from their natural tempers, I thought the former would endeavour to ſave me from publick cenſure and puniſhment, when I was perſecuted; and the latter would be ſeverer upon me; the reverſe proved true. Nor could biſhop *Trimnell*, the groſſeſt tritheiſt that I ever knew, bear one that was ſuppoſed to be an *Arian*, notwithſtanding the latter doctrines were very ſtrongly ſupported, and the former utterly condemned by all chriſtian antiquity.

Soon after archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s death, 1694, died that moſt excellent lady queen *Mary*. Biſhop *Burnet*, in the hiſtory of his own times, ſays, that "king *William* then turned himſelf much to the "meditations of religion, and to ſecret prayer: "that the new archbiſhop *(Tenniſon)* was often and "long with him; and that he entered into ſo-

" lemn and ſerious reſolutions of becoming in all " things an exact and an exemplary chriſtian." But he gives no particular inſtance of ſuch ſolemn and ſerious reſolutions. I can give a remarkable one, that tends greatly to the honour of both the king and the archbiſhop, which I had then from my patron biſhop *Moor*; who was one of thoſe ſorrowful company of biſhops, of whom biſhop *Burnet* ſpeaks a little before, who attended her in her receiving her laſt communion. It was this; there was a court lady, the lady *Villers*, with whom it was well known king *William* had been too familiar, and had given her great endowments. Upon the queen's death, the new archbiſhop, whether as deſired by the queen before her death, or of his own voluntary motion, I do not know; took the freedom, after his loſs of ſo excellent a wife, to repreſent to him, the great injury he had done that excellent wife by his adultery with the lady *Villers*. The king took it well, and did not deny his crime, but faithfully promiſed the archbiſhop he would have no more to do with her. Which reſolution I believe he kept; I having heard another way that this lady wondred ſhe could never ſee that king after the queen's death. Now for an atteſtation to this hiſtory, the biſhop added, that the archbiſhop's ſermon concerning *holy reſolution*, which was preach'd in the king's lodgings at *Kenſington*, before he appeared publickly, was deſign'd particularly to confirm him in that reſolution of never ſeeing her more: It is in print; and, to an attentive reader, upon this key, will appear to agree very well with the foregoing circumſtances.

But having now mentioned two ſuch eminent and learned men, as Dr. *Bentley* and Dr. *Hare*, it will not be amiſs to relate what hand they had in ſome great affairs of learning in their time, wherein

wherein I was alſo deeply concerned myſelf, and particularly with relation to the apoſtolical conſtitutions, by me firſt introduced to publick notice; and to the harmony of the four evangeliſts, by me a little earlier determined to include above four years. As to the former, the apoſtolical conſtitutions, when Dr. *Bentley*, was about to peruſe them, upon my firſt proving them to be genuine, he pretended to me, that he would *cut the graſs from under my feet*, as his expreſſion was, and prove them to be ſpurious: I reply'd, maſter, you will not write againſt me upon that head; for when you examine them you will find them to be genuine. Accordingly, when he had, in ſome meaſure, examined them, he gave this for his opinion; that ſome things in them he could correct as a critick; but that for other parts, they were *ab ultimâ antiquitate*. Nor did Dr. *Hare* (who had procured for Dr. *Grabe* and me, the collation of two *Vienna* MSS. of the conſtitutions, by that very good man Mr. *Anderſon*, then our ambaſſador's chaplain at *Vienna*, and afterwards rector of *Lutterworth*; and one who ſeemed ſtill to ſuppoſe them genuine:) nor did Dr. *Hare*, I ſay, appear to me ever to deny their being ſo; altho' neither were Dr. *Bentley*, nor Dr. *Hare* firm believers enough, nor ſerious enough in chriſtianity, to hazard any thing in this world, for their reception. And as to the latter, the harmony of the four evangeliſts, Dr. *Bentley* had of old revived, from his own peruſal of *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke* (not pretending the ſame of *John*,) that *Valentinian* notion, that our Saviour preached only one year; and this in the days of archbiſhop *Sharp*; whom I have heard ſpeak of it with concern. This notion, I ſay, came firſt from Dr. *Bentley*, to Dr. *Hare*, and from him to his pupil, Mr. *Nicolas Mann*, now maſter of the *Charter-Houſe*; who being unacquainted whence it came, till I informed him of it; but a per-

ſon of very good learning, and ſagacity, managed the hypotheſis ſo well, that I once told the biſhop of *Durham*, he had demonſtrated an impoſſibility, as well as an impoſſibility could be demonſtrated. And which yet I throughly confuted from *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, as well as *John*, afterward. See that confutation at the end of my VI. *Diſſertations*, page 347—355, of which hereafter. Dr. *Hare* alſo, about the end of queen *Anne*'s reign, wrote a moſt remarkable paper, that ſold greatly, intituled "The difficulties and diſcouragements which attend the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, in the way of private judgment. In order to ſhew, that ſince ſuch a ſtudy of the *ſcriptures* is mens indiſpenſible duty, it concerns all chriſtian ſocieties to remove (as much as poſſible) thoſe diſcouragements". This was done in ſuch a ſeeming ludicrous way, that the convocation fell upon him, as if he were really againſt the ſtudy of the ſcriptures. And he finding this paper rather an hindrance to the preferment he ſoon after was ſeeking for, aimed to conceal his being the author, which yet every body was ſatisfied he really was. I mention that pamphlet in this account of my own life particularly, becauſe he there introduces me, as well as Dr. *Clark*, and gives both our characters. Mine is in the words following, at large.

"There are, ſays this author, two clergymen of "the town, who have ſtudied themſelves into *Hereſy*, or at leaſt into a *ſuſpicion* of it. Both of "them men of *fair*, *unblemiſhed characters*. One "has all his life been cultivating piety and virtue, "and good learning; rigidly conſtant himſelf in "the publick and private duties of religion; and "always promoting in *others* virtue, and ſuch "learning as he thought would conduce moſt to "the honour of God, by manifeſting the greatneſs "and wiſdom of his works. He has given the "world

" world ſufficient proofs that he has not miſpent " his time, by very uſeful works of *philoſophy*, and " *mathematicks*, he has apply'd *one* to the expli- " cation of the *other*; and endeavour'd, by both, " to diſplay the glory of the great Creator: and " to his ſtudy of nature, he early joined the ſtudy " of the *ſcriptures*; and his attempts, whatever " the ſucceſs be, were at leaſt well meant; and, " conſidering the difficulty of the ſubjects he was " engaged in, it muſt be allowed, that, in the " main, they are *well aimed*; and if he has not " ſucceeded, no more have others who have med- " dled with the ſame ſubjects; nor is he more to be " blamed than they. To be *blamed* did I ſay? I " ſhould have ſaid, not leſs to be *commended:* for " ſure 'tis a *commendable* deſign to explain ſcripture- " difficulties, and to remove the objections of pro- " fane men, by ſhewing there is nothing in the " ſacred writings but what is true and rational.

" But what does a life thus ſpent avail? To " what purpoſe ſo many watchful nights and " weary days? ſo much piety and devotion? ſo " much mortification and ſelf-denial? ſuch a zeal " to do good, and to be uſeful to the world? ſo " many noble ſpecimens of a great genius, and a " fine imagination? 'Tis the poor man's misfor- " tune (for poor he is, and like to be; not having " the leaſt preferment) to have a warm head, " and to be very zealous in what he thinks the " cauſe of God. He thinks prudence the worldly " wiſdom condemned by Chriſt and his apoſtles: " and that 'tis groſs prevarication and hypocriſy " to conceal the diſcoveries he conceives he has " made. This heat of temper betrays him into " indiſcreet expreſſions, and haſty aſſertions; de- " ſigning to hurt no body, he fanſies no body " deſigns to hurt him; and is ſimple enough to " expect the ſame favourable allowances will be

" made to *him*, that he ſees made to thoſe who " write againſt him. As to his learning; 'tis his " misfortune that he is not ſkilled enough in the " learned languages to be a critick in them; and " yet ſeems not to be ſenſible of his deficiency in " this reſpect: and what advantage is taken of " this, that he has not *leſs heat*, and more *criticiſm?* " His learning is treated in that manner, that " you would think he did not know the firſt ele- " ments of *Greek*; tho' even in that he is much " ſuperior to moſt of thoſe who make ſo free with " him: and you every day hear his performances " run down as whimſies and chimæras, by men " who never *read* them; and if they did, could " not *underſtand* them: nor does his *warmth of* " *temper* come off better; 'tis all *obſtinacy*, *pride*, " and *heretical pravity*; a want of *modeſty*, and " due *deference* to juſt authority: they that ſpeak " moſt favourably, look upon him as *craz'd*, and " little better than a *madman*. This is the poor " man's character; and, low as he is, they can- " not be content to leave him quiet in his po- " verty. Whereas, had he not been early poſſeſs'd " with a paſſionate love for the ſcriptures, and " philoſophy; had he not thought it his duty, " above all things, to promote the *glory of God*, " and been perſuaded that could be no way ſo well " done as by the ſtudy of his *word* and *works*; " 'tis more than probable he had at this time been " *orthodox:* and then, inſtead of his preſent treat- " ment, his faults would have been overlook'd; " the learning he excels in would have been ex- " toll'd; and no defect would have been found in " other parts of it: he would have been cried up " as an ornament of the age, and no preferment " would have been denied or envied him."

Dr. *Clarke*'s character follows at large alſo, but need not be here repeated; as already by me inſerted

ſerted into my *Memoirs of his Life*, firſt edition, page 167, 168.

As for Dr. *Hare*'s ſcepticiſm in religion, I was ſo throughly apprized of it, that I once obſerved to biſhop *Sherlock*, when the doctor had preached, and printed, and I had read a ſermon of his for the reformation of manners, what an exceeding good ſermon it was, *if he were in earneſt*; the biſhop replied, do you doubt of that? I ſaid, that was my principal doubt of all: nor will thoſe that take notice of the behaviour of many of our clergy, eſpecially of thoſe that are ſeeking preferment at court, how different it is *in* the pulpit, from what it is *out* of it; be without ſtrong ſuſpicions as to their being *in earneſt*, when they are in the former place.

Nor is it very eaſy to be believed, that at this time of day, thoſe who have any knowledge of primitive chriſtianity, and yet continue publickly to read the curſes upon the chriſtians, contained in the *Athanaſian* creed, are really *in earneſt* believers of the chriſtian religion; let them preach or write never ſo plauſibly for it. *Quid verba audiam, cum facta videam?*

But now I have been ſpeaking of Dr. *Bentley*, I muſt give ſome account how ſo great a man, and one ſent on purpoſe by ſix eminent biſhops, to whom king *William* had committed the diſpoſal of many of the eccleſiaſtical preferments in the gift of the crown, to reſtore diſcipline and learning in *Trinity* college, and by conſequence, in good meaſure, in the univerſity of *Cambridge* alſo; and who, for about four years, did endeavour it to an eminent degree, came afterwards to act ſo ill, as to be accuſed before two ſucceſſive biſhops of *Ely*, biſhop *Moor*, and biſhop *Green*; and, in effect, ordered to be expelled by them both for male-adminiſtration, which he eſcaped with great difficulty: (after having expoſed himſelf farther in a ſtrange manner,

manner, both in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and in the houſe of lords) and that by only certain niceties of law, and ambiguity of ſtatutes.. Now, tho' I knew a great deal of all thoſe matters, and was ſometimes deeply concerned in oppoſing his irregular proceedings, and in endeavouring in vain to bring him to a better temper; yet, becauſe this does not ſo immediately concern myſelf, and would take up too much room in theſe memoirs, I ſhall wave the reſt, and only relate here what I take to have been the πρῶτον ψεῦδος, or *firſt Beginning* of his unhappy management, which I was myſelf a witneſs to. I always compare this his proceeding to the pythagorick Y, where the aſcent from the bottom is direct and unexceptionable, till you come to the divarication of the two lines; whence *Virtue* proceeds ſtrait on to the right hand, and *Vice* to the left; and where, tho' at firſt the diſtance of the lines be very ſmall, and eaſily ſtepp'd over, yet does it, after a while, become too large for any ſtep whatſoever. Now, Dr. *Bentley*, as I have already intimated, for about four years, had proceeded up the bottom ſtem very directly, and had examined every candidate for ſcholarſhips and fellowſhips throughly, and ſeemed as near as poſſible to have given every one the place he really deſerved: but at an election for fellowſhips, about 1703, or 1704, he ventured for *once* only, as he ſaid, to recede from that excellent rule, *detur Digniori*; and gave a fellowſhip to one whom he confeſſed to be inferior in learning to his antagoniſt; tho' it being a new thing with him, he did it with reluctance. The reaſons he gave for doing ſo this once, he told me, were theſe two; the one, that Mr. *Stubbs*, the leſs deſerving, was nephew to Dr. *Stubbs*, profeſſor of the *Hebrew* tongue in the univerſity, and vice-maſter of the college, who was ſo rich, that he *could* give the college 10,000*l.* (tho', by the way,

I never heard that he gave it one groat.) The other reaſon was, that if he made Mr. *Stubbs* fellow, his uncle would probably be his faſt friend at all future elections; and by that means he could, in a manner, govern them all as he pleaſed. Upon theſe two conſiderations he ventured to chuſe Mr. *Stubbs*, againſt a more deſerving candidate, and ſo to break in upon his integrity; and, I think, he never after returned to it: which, as it was of the moſt fatal conſequence to that college, ſo did the maſter find it very unhappy to himſelf alſo: for Mr. *Stubbs* not only proved a vile man, to his great diſreputation, but he, together with his uncle, came before the biſhop of *Ely* (biſhop *Moor*) in open court, to be witneſſes againſt him, in order to his expulſion. Hence we may all learn that old maxim, *Principiis obſtare*, and never to *begin* to do an unjuſt or wicked thing; which I have heard was the excellent advice of the lord chief juſtice *Hales*, to the lord *Nottingham*, when he was made lord chancellor; leſt it end at laſt as fatally as did Dr. *Bentley*'s.

And now I am upon Dr. *Bentley*, I ſhall farther take leave to mention ſomewhat that all truly great men ought to guard againſt, in the ſtrongeſt manner; I mean *Flattery*; concerning which he told me this remarkable ſtory. A city divine, of good deſert, and preferment, but wanting ſtill *more preferment*, applied himſelf to the great biſhop *Stillingfleet*, to whom Mr. *Bentley* was then chaplain, for his recommendation; which was then of the higheſt value at court: in order to which this divine was overheard by Mr. *Bentley*, flattering the biſhop at an extravagant rate: "That his lord-"ſhip's character was ſo extraordinary, that if it "were right to have an univerſal biſhop over the "whole church, no man was ſo fit for it as his "lordſhip." Upon which Mr. *Bentley* ſaid, he could

could have kicked the clergyman down ſtairs, he had ſuch an indignation at this groſs flattery; yet did he ſtill perceive, that the old man was pleaſed with it. Whence he gathered this concluſion, that "If you "do but flatter enough, you conquer every body."

And now, before I quite leave Dr. *Bentley*, and biſhop *Stillingfleet*, I will add another thing which I alſo had from Dr. *Bentley* himſelf. Mr. *Halley* was then thought of for ſucceſſor, to be in a mathematick profeſſorſhip at *Oxford*; and biſhop *Stillingfleet* was deſired to recommend him at court; but hearing that he was a ſceptick, and a banterer of religion, he ſcrupled to be concern'd; 'till his chaplain, Mr. *Bentley*, ſhould talk with him about it; which he did. But Mr. *Halley* was ſo ſincere in his infidelity, that he would not ſo much as pretend to believe the chriſtian religion, tho' he thereby was likely to loſe a profeſſorſhip; which he did accordingly; and it was then given to Dr. *Gregory:* Yet was Mr. *Halley* afterwards choſen into the like profeſſorſhip there, without any pretence to the belief of chriſtianity. Nor was there any enquiry made about my ſucceſſor Mr. *Sanderſon*'s chriſtianity, even when the univerſity of *Cambridge* had juſt baniſhed me for believing and examining it ſo throughly, that I hazarded all I had in the world for it.

In the year 1698, biſhop *Moor* gave me the living of *Loweſtoft cum Keſſingland*, by the ſeaſide in *Suffolk:* I had here about 2000 ſouls under my inſpection; where I ſet myſelf to do my duty, and really to take *curam animarum*, care of the ſouls that were now committed to me. I provided me a very good curate or aſſiſtant, Mr. *John Troughton*, who alſo taught a ſmall ſchool there; of which he made 25 or 30 *l.* a year, beſides the 30 *l.* that I allowed him; while yet I could hardly promiſe myſelf clear above 120 *l.* a year: the revenues then chiefly ariſing from the north-ſea, herring

and

and mackrel-fiſhery: where my dues were *half a dole* out of every fiſhing-boat, which were uſually about thirty in each: ſo that inſtead of *Tythes*, or the 10th part, I received only about one 60th of the product of the ſea. I here ſet up publick prayers morning and evening every day, in a chappel within the town; and therein, to encourage a more numerous and conſtant attendance, I uſed, after a while, beſides a leſſon out of the *New Teſtament*, that abridgment of the publick prayers, which had been before collected by ſome good man, and publiſhed, under the title of *The Common-Prayer-Book the beſt Companion*. Which when I informed biſhop *Lloyd* of, he highly approv'd of what I had done, and ordered that book to be bought for him. I conſtantly preached twice a day at the church, which was three furlongs out of the town; and all the ſummer ſeaſon at leaſt, I had a catechetick lecture at the chappel in the evening, deſign'd more for the inſtruction of the adult, than for the children themſelves; to which lecture the *diſſenters* alſo would come, and by which I always thought I did more good than by my ſermons. This method of catechizing was begun by me at biſhop *Moor*'s chappel at *Norwich*, for his children, and ſome others that deſired to be my auditors there: nay, the biſhop himſelf would come ſometimes; and approved of my lectures ſo well, that he once moved me to print them; but I told him I could not do that; for they were not written down, but ſpoken off-hand, from ſhort notes, as a great part of my ſermons at *Loweſtoft* were alſo: which gained me time for my other more learned ſtudies, without neglecting my cure: and by being naturally ſpoken in a more eaſy way, and more familiar ſtile, were generally more edifying and acceptable than elaborate, compoſed diſcourſes; which, in thoſe of a learned education, are

are not seldom quite above the level of ordinary capacities; such as the generality of our hearers must needs be. I also took care that my curate preached once a day at *Kessingland*, and once at *Corton*; a very poor neighbouring ignorant village, of hardly any revenues, and formerly abandoned to diversions on the Lord's days: while every month I gave them of *Kessingland* a sermon myself, in the morning, and a catechetick lecture in the afternoon. I also, a little, tried there to instruct the private families on week days at home, but found their heads and hands so engaged, about their husbandry, that I could only do it in the evenings of lord's days, when they were more at leisure: but I was soon recalled to *Cambridge*, to be Sir *Isaac Newton*'s deputy, and afterward his successor, in the beginning of this century, when I resigned my living, so I shall not enlarge farther on my behaviour in that place.

I shall only add to what is in my life of Dr. *Clarke* (page 9. 1st. edit.) these two facts which I well remember to have happened to me, while I lived at *Lowestoft*. The parish-officers came once to me to desire me to set my hand to a licence, for setting up a new alehouse in *Lowestoft*, the justices, it seems, paying that compliment to the town, as not to set it up without the consent of the minister, (and I suppose of the church-wardens also.) My answer was short, "If they would bring me a paper to sign to pull down an alehouse, I would "certainly sign it; but would never sign one to "set up an alehouse." At another time there came to me an order from Mr. *Bachelor*, who then acted in the ecclesiastical court as a deputy to Dr. *Pepper*, chancellor of *Norwich*, for reading an excommunication against a woman of my parish, who, it seems, had called another woman *whore*: these courts not being able to proceed, till such an excommunication is read in the parish-church:

upon

upon this, I went and enquired of the ſober people in the neighbourhood, whether this imputation was believed to be true or falſe? The anſwer was, that "the accuſer might have kept her tongue between "her teeth, yet they doubted the thing was too "true." I then wrote to Mr. *Bachelor*, that I was ſurprized to have an order for reading an excommunication againſt a poor woman, for ſpeaking what the ſober people in the nighbourhood thought to be true. His anſwer was, *Veritas Convitij non excuſat conviciantem*, a maxim of the modern antichriſtian, but not of the ancient chriſtian law; of which ſee my pamphlet of *Chriſtian Diſcipline*, page 63, 64. However, I never did read that excommunication; nor do ſuch eccleſiaſtical courts generally do other than overturn all good order in matters of religion; excepting it were under ſuch an excellent chancellor as Dr. *Tanner*, afterward biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, who was diſpoſed to uſe his power more for the real advantage of good order and diſcipline, than any other in that office within my knowledge; till the nicety of ſome law of the land ſpoiled his deſigns for any farther reformation.

In the year 1698-9 I wrote to biſhop *Lloyd*, *a true account of ſome late elections of fellows at* Clare-Hall, Cambridge, juſt before I married and left the college; as I had written to him another letter in a like caſe. Theſe elections were things of great conſequence to the college at that time; and I was ſo deeply concerned in them, and, at laſt, ſo unworthily trick'd by ſome ill men there, that I could not forbear writing an account of them for the biſhop: whether I ſent it him I cannot now remember: It is however preſerved, and fit to be known by the maſter and fellows of that college; to whom I ſhall be ready to communicate it at any time; altho' it be of too private a nature, and too long, to be publiſhed to all the world in this place.

However,

However, there were two perſons (to ſay nothing of many others) ſo utterly ruined in my time in our college, for want of due encouragement to ſobriety and virtue, and defect of college diſcipline, that I cannot forbear mentioning their caſes, tho' without naming the perſons; and I do it for a caution to the preſent and future members of that and other ſocieties. The firſt example which I ſhall give ſome account of, was one of my own year: he came to the college with a ſweetneſs of temper, a ſkill in oratory and poetry very extraordinary, and was accordingly very much beloved in the ſociety: he came a ſober youth, and ſo continued for his firſt year; but after that year, he fell into the acquaintance of a drinking ſophiſter, who ſoon made him drink like himſelf: I then gave him a friendly caution, and told him, that if he did not take care, that ſophiſter would be his ruin; as he was accordingly; for it is now, I ſuppoſe, above forty years ſince he could hardly bring a glaſs of wine to his mouth, his hand ſo trembled: yet was his company ſtill ſo acceptable, that the youths, who were to ſtand for fellowſhips, by getting in with him, and drinking with him, endeavoured to make their way to our fellowſhips. One of which youths they killed, with a bowl of punch; and yet did he ſoon go with his other companions to the tavern, to drink *in piam Memoriam* of their friend whom they had juſt killed; till, in a little time, this fine youth himſelf died with drinking; which, tho' it did not kill him ſo ſoon as if he had ſtabb'd himſelf with a dagger, yet it did it as ſurely. The ſecond example was one of the next year to us, and who came a good ſcholar, and had an excellent memory, and was ſober for ſeveral years, and one of a triumvirate of ſober men; of which I was one, and my friend Mr. *Laurence*, of whom hereafter, was another. Now this poor unhappy man came

came at laſt to ſtand for a fellowſhip, ſoon after Mr. *Laurence* and I had been made fellows, and had by conſequence with the fore-mentioned perſon of my year votes in that election. He thought at firſt that of the electors the major part were on the ſide of the drinkers; and accordingly forſook his ſobriety, and for a month or ſix weeks drank hard with them at the tavern, till we that were his old ſober friends ſaw it, and diſcarded him, and reſolved to chooſe a better, becauſe a more ſober candidate, in his room, I mean Mr. *Troughton*, who was afterward my curate, as already mentioned. He at laſt found his miſtake, and that the ſober party were likely to be the majority, ſo he ſorely repented of his debauchery, and tried earneſtly to recover his old friends votes, but to no purpoſe. One circumſtance was peculiar to myſelf, who, during this interval, was walking in the back walk of the college, or rather ſitting down in one of the end ſeats: this unhappy man came to me there, and fell down on his knees to me, confeſſing that he had turned debauchee for preferment, as thinking that was the way then to it in *Clare-Hall*; but ſolemnly proteſting, that if I would believe him, and give him my vote, he would ever afterward become a ſober man, as he had been formerly. My anſwer was ſhort, but ſuch as cut off all his hopes. "Sir, ſaid I, you "have confeſſed that you have ſacrificed your inte-"grity to your preferment, and thereby made it "impoſſible for me to ſerve you." After which, his oppoſite candidate, Mr. *Troughton*, was choſen, and he himſelf halted between ſobriety and debauchery afterwards, and became at laſt one of the moſt miſerable clergymen that I ever heard of. 'Tis a terrible ſtate which the poet deſcribes, *Video meliora, proboque; deteriora ſequor.* Which was the ſtate of this poor man; whoſe amazing ill conduct

and misfortunes make me ready to weep when I think of him, becauſe of our former friendſhip.

In the year 1702, I publiſhed my *ſecond* Book, or *Short View of the Chronology of the Old Teſtament, and of the Harmony of the four Evangeliſts*, 4to. Price 8 *s*.

In this *Chronology of the Old Teſtament* I entirely followed, at firſt, the *Maſorete Hebrew* copy, and its numbers, which I then took to be the moſt authentick; but becauſe, upon farther enquiry, I afterward intirely altered my mind as to that matter, and fully ſatisfied myſelf that the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, as well as *Joſephus*'s copy of the *Hebrew*, together with the *Septuagint* verſion, and the moſt authentick records of heathen antiquity, agree in a chronology that lengthens the interval ſince the deluge about 580 years, as is contained at large in my *Eſſay to reſtore the true Text of the Old Teſtament*, Prop. X, XI. and the *Chronological Table* thereto relating; with the VI. *Diſſertations*, page 213—219. and the IVth *Diſſertation*, prefixed to my *Engliſh Joſephus*, page 64—71. and page 86, of all which hereafter. Whence this *Chronology* is to be corrected in any future edition.

Soon after the publication of this *Chronology* and *Harmony*, many friendly letters paſſed between the learned Dr. *Whitby* and myſelf; as alſo between a great friend of mine and fellow collegian, Mr. *Thomas Henckman* and myſelf, about the *Harmony*; which letters I have ſtill by me; but as they are too long to be here inſerted, and much light has been afforded me from the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, and Monſieur *Tcinard*'s *Harmony*, and otherwiſe ſince that time, which partly appears in my corrected copy, I add no more about them in this place.

In *March* 1702-3, I publiſhed my *third* book, which was *Tacquet*'s *Euclid*, with *Select Theorems of Ar. Lemedes*,

Archimedes, and with the addition of *Practical Corollaries*, in *Latin*; for the uſe of young ſtudents in the univerſity. The ſecond edition was printed at *Cambridge*, by Mr. *Crownfield*, for Mr. *Thurlborn*, and Mr. *Dickenſon*, *A. D.* 1710. It was alſo put into *Engliſh* at *London*, from the ſecond edition, under my own review. The price of my own edition in 8vo. was 4*s.* Now it was the accidental purchaſe of *Tacquet*'s own *Euclid* at an auction, that occaſioned my firſt application to the mathematicks, wherein *Tacquet* was a very clear writer.

On *November* 27, 1703, was that prodigious ſtorm of wind, which our books and pamphlets were full of for a great while: now tho' I heard it with others, and was deeply affected with the power and providence of Almighty God who brought it; and yet ſtop'd its fury ſo much, that, comparatively, few perſons were killed by it; while had its fury been one quarter, or, however, one half greater than it was, from which we knew of no natural reſtraints, whole cities and towns might have been utterly overthrown, and their inhabitants might almoſt all have periſhed. But what makes me mention it here is this, that the publick had then ſo extraordinary a collect of praiſe and thankſgiving ſent about, when Dr. *Teniſon* was archbiſhop, to be uſed for ſome time afterwards, with the moſt moving expreſſions of the deepeſt ſenſe of the divine attributes, proper for ſuch an occaſion, that I ever remember in any *modern*, I had almoſt ſaid, or even *ancient* compoſition whatſoever. Now I have very lately recovered this collect, by the means of the preſent archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſhall exhibit the ſame, with the archbiſhop's letter to me, in due place hereafter. It is a very valuable monument of the piety of our church governors at that time, and a pattern for our governors hereafter; which I think

they have now more than ordinary occaſion for, conſidering the very poor and jejune, but too court-like compoſitions of ſome of our modern forms of devotion on ſeveral occaſions.

In the year 1704-5, *Jan.* 25, I preached at *Trinity* church in *Cambridge*, and ſoon after printed, a Sermon on 2 *Tim.* iii. 15. *And that from a child thou haſt known the holy ſcriptures; which are able to make thee wiſe unto ſalvation, through faith which is in Chriſt Jeſus*; upon occaſion of the charity ſchools then lately erected there for three hundred poor children; and that principally by my own endeavours, as is acknowledged by Mr. *Worts*, jun. when, in his will, he left to thoſe ſchools 30*l.* a year for ever: and I confeſs that my monthly day of catechizing about ninety of them, when I was their ſteward, ſeemed to me the beſt ſpent day of the whole month. There was added afterward, when I re-printed this ſermon, among my *ſermons and eſſays*, 1709, a particular *account* of the ſame charity ſchools: but as to my later correction of the *Doxology*, at the end of that ſermon, to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, *three Perſons and one God*; and the noiſe that it made, more is ſaid in the *Hiſtory of my Proſecution*, elſewhere.

About this year 1705, Dr. *Plume* founded a new profeſſorſhip for aſtronomy and experimental philoſophy in the univerſity of *Cambridge*. I was one of the electors. The two candidates were, a ſcholar of Dr. *Harris*'s, whoſe name I have forgotten, and Mr. *Roger Cotes*, of *Trinity College*. I was the only profeſſor of mathematicks directly concerned in the choice, ſo my determination naturally had its weight among the reſt of the electors. I ſaid, that I pretended myſelf to be not much inferior in mathematicks to the other candidates maſter, Dr. *Harris*; but confeſſed that I was but a child to Mr. *Cotes*; ſo the votes were unanimous for him.

A. D.

A. D. 1706. I printed my *Eſſay on the Revelation of St.* John, ſo far as concerns the paſt and preſent times; to which were then added, two diſſertations, the one upon *Mark* ii. 25, 26. that *Abiathar*, and not *Abimelech*, was really the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, when *David* eat the ſhew-bread: which notion was propoſed by *Euſebius*, in his comment on the title of *Pſalm* xxxiii. The other upon *Matthew* xxiv. and the parallel chapters, to diſtinguiſh what parts of our Saviour's diſcourſe concerned the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and what parts concerned the day of judgment; together with a large collection of ſcripture prophecies relating to the times after the coming of the Meſſiah.

N. B. Tho' in my ſecond edition of this Eſſay, 1744, which was greatly corrected and improved, I omitted theſe two diſſertations, and collection of prophecies, for cheapneſs: and tho' *Beza*'s copy intirely wants the name of *Abiathar*, in *Mark*'s goſpel, and thereby greatly weakens its authority; yet do I deſire they may all three be re-printed in any new edition of that book, for the ſatisfaction of the curious.

In the year 1707, I publiſhed *Prælectiones Aſtronomicæ, Cantabrigiæ in ſcholis publicis habitæ. Quibus accedunt tabulæ plurimæ aſtronomicæ, Flamſteedianæ correctæ, Halliauæ, Caſſinianæ, et Streetianæ. In uſum juventutis academicæ.* They were put into *Engliſh* afterward.

N. B. There were, by miſtake, two aſtronomical tables omitted in the *Latin* edition, *pag.* 332, and 339. but they were added afterward to my *Prælectiones Phyſico-Mathematicæ*; pag. 366, 367. whence, in any future edition, they are to be taken and inſerted here in their proper places. It muſt alſo be noted, that the calculation of the ſun's place in lect. X. was made from the uncorrected table of Mr. *Flamſteed*, in Sir *Jonas Moor*'s

Syſtem of the mathematicks, before I had amended them at Mr. *Flamſteed*'s admonition. It muſt alſo be obſerved, that I hardly ever had patience, in any of my tables or calculations, to find the *ſeconds* nicely; as eſteeming them very troubleſome to find, and of very little conſequence when they were found: however, ſince Dr. *Halley*'s more accurate tables are now to be publiſhed, theſe need be printed no more; but all calculations ought to be taken from the other.

In the ſame year, 1707, I publiſhed, by the author's permiſſion, Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s *Arithmetica Univerſalis*, or *Algebra*, from that copy which was laid up in the archives of the univerſity, as all Mr. *Lucas*'s profeſſor's lectures are obliged to be, and where my own lectures were laid up accordingly: which *Algebra* had been nine years lectures of Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s; but becauſe that acute mathematician Mr. *Machin*, profeſſor of aſtronomy at *Greſham College*, (where I formerly read many lectures for him) and one of the ſecretaries of the royal ſociety has publiſhed this work again, by the author's later deſire or permiſſion; I lay no claim to it. It has alſo been put into *Engliſh* from my edition printed at *London*.

N. B. Mr. *Cotes* and I began our firſt courſe of philoſophical experiments at *Cambridge*, *May* 5, 1707. In the performance of which, certain hydroſtatick and pneumatick lectures were compoſed; they were in number twenty-four; the one half by Mr. *Cotes*, and the other half by myſelf: which lectures were alſo afterward made uſe of in the like [enlarged] courſes, which Mr. *Hauksbee* and I performed many years in *London*. Mr. *Cotes*'s have been ſometime ago publiſhed by his couſin and ſucceſſor Dr. *Smith*, now maſter of *Trinity College*, *Cambridge*: but I eſteem mine ſo far inferior to his, and many later books and courſes relating

relating to ſuch matters being become common, I cannot prevail with myſelf ſo much to reviſe and improve them, as they ought to be before they are fit for publication; ſo that I do not give any further account of them in this place. The preſent duke of *Argyle* took a copy of them long ago, when he had gone through our courſe, and I ſuppoſe has it ſtill by him.

In the ſame year, 1707, I preached *eight ſermons* at the cathedral church of St. *Paul*, at the lecture founded by the Hon. *Robert Boyle*, Eſq; upon the *Accompliſhment of ſcripture Prophecies*; with an *Appendix* to the ſame purpoſe: to which is ſubjoined, a *Diſſertation* to prove that our Saviour aſcended into heaven on the evening after his reſurrection. 8vo.

N. B. Upon any future edition, theſe lectures are to be printed from that corrected and improved copy which is inſerted into the collection made 1736, of all the ſermons that had then been preached at that lecture.

N. B. I made mention in theſe ſermons, 1707, of the modern *French* prophets, who, at that time, made a great noiſe amongſt us, with plain diſapprobation of their pretences: and, about the year 1713, I held a conference at my houſe, (they are my words, *pag.* 68. of the firſt edition of my life of Dr. *Clarke*,) with Mr. *Lacy*, and ſeveral other of thoſe prophets; wherein I gave my reaſons why, upon ſuppoſition of their agitations and impulſes being *ſupernatural*, I thought they were *evil* and not *good* ſpirits that were the authors of thoſe agitations and impulſes: where I alſo add, that the heads of the reaſons I inſiſted on are ſtill preſerved: I ſhall here therefore add thoſe heads in this place, as follows.

Reaſons againſt the new prophets;

That their ſpirit is not the ſpirit of God.

(1.) They father ridiculous things upon God.
(2.) They are lying prophets, by foretelling events that have not come to paſs.
(3.) They falſely pretend to miracles.
(4.) They permit ſin; as in Mr. *Lacy*'s adultery with *Eliz. Grey*.
(5.) They miſinterpret ſcripture.
(6.) They think the ſcripture the rule of faith, contrary to all antiquity.
(7.) They reject the uſe of reaſon.
(8.) They make it impoſſible to diſcover falſe prophets.
(9.) The quakers, *&c.* have equal pretences with them.
(10.) Tho' ſome true prophets might not work miracles, nor foretel future events, yet they never then pretend to them, as theſe have done; ſo none were condemned for rejecting *John the Baptiſt*, becauſe he *wrought no miracles*; and our Saviour ſays, *If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had ſin.*
(11.) Wild agitations are rather ſigns of dæmoniacal poſſeſſions, than of a prophetick afflatus.
(12.) They are unable to explain any difficult ſcripture prophecies.
(13.) They entertain vulgar untrue notions in divinity; ſuch as the *Athanaſian* trinity; the imperfect canon of ſcripture, *&c.*
(14.) The old prophets were owned for true, by their very enemies; and ſo had either certain credentials of their own, or were atteſted to by others that had ſuch credentials, *&c.* But 'tis not ſo here.

At laſt I took Mr. *Lacy* by the hand, and ſaid to him, and his companions, *I hope you are honeſt; but I am ſatisfied you are very weak:* which is what I would ſay to our preſent enthuſiaſts alſo.

Nor

Nor was the great biſhop *Lloyd*'s opinion of the *French* prophets to be deſpiſed, who called this pretence of theirs, *the devil's banter*; by their folly to bring the true ſcripture prophecies into contempt.

N. B. Mr. *John Weſtley*, one among the preſent *Methodiſts*, having already freed himſelf from the folly of Calviniſm; having written for the obſervation of the old *Wedneſday* and *Friday* ſtations, in which I gave him my aſſiſtance long ago; having alſo preached and printed an excellent ſermon before the univerſity of *Oxford*, and having lately ſhewed ſomewhat of a true chriſtian temper, in unſaying what he had heard about Mr. *Emlyn*. I hope he will, at laſt, leave off his athanaſian follies, and come intirely into old chriſtianity.

About *Auguſt*, in the year 1708, as is noted in my *Hiſtorical Preface*, *pag.* 55, 56, I drew up a ſmall imperfect *Eſſay upon the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, and offered it to Dr. *Lany*, our vice-chancellor, for his licence, to be printed at *Cambridge*, but he refuſed to licence it.

In this year, 1708, my great friend Mr. *Pierce*, near whom I had formerly lived in intimate friendſhip at *Cambridge*, and who was really the moſt learned of all the diſſenting teachers that I had known; but was at this time a preacher at *Newberry* in *Berkſhire*, heard that I was become an heretical *Euſebian*, or *Arian*; ſo he wrote me the following letter, in the way of a true friend, and a good ſcholar, but a zealous *Athanaſian*.

Newberry, July 10, 1708.

Dear Sir,

IN ſeveral companies in *London*, (from whence I returned laſt week) I met with a moſt diſpleaſing account of you; but it being from perſons altogether

together unacquainted with you, I thought it the part of a friend not to give credit to it; and therefore did endeavour to quaſh that kind of diſcourſe, and alledg'd, what I thought rendered it improbable: but caſually meeting with a common friend of ours, I was forc'd to believe, what was ſo much againſt my inclination. I need not apologize to you, that I uſe this liberty of writing to you upon that ſubject. It is the part of friends to deal freely with one another; and, eſpecially, when any thing is obſerved, that allays the pleaſant remembrance of former converſation.

If I ſhould urge you with the circumſtances which the unhappy notions you have lately entertained are like to bring you into, I could not promiſe myſelf that it would have any great influence upon you: for a generous mind will not be ſwayed thereby, contrary to its own apprehenſions. Leaving then the conſideration of worldly emoluments, which, tho' they may excite us to caution and deliberation, yet ought not to rule us, let me mind you of what I always judged to be your great aim and deſign, the doing good in the world: which, I conceive, will be much prejudiced thereby: and of this we on our ſide have had a very melancholy inſtance, in a perſon of great accompliſhments for ſervice, but now by ſuch notions become wholly uſeleſs; [I ſuppoſe he meant my great friend Mr. *Tho. Emlyn*] and it really grieves me to think, how much people will be prejudiced againſt your other writings, and particularly thoſe on the *Apocalypſe*, by this means. Bear with the freedom of a friend, who loves you as a brother. It is really amazing to me, that you ſhould ever fall in with the *Unitarians*; I ſhould have thought you were moſt effectually ſecured againſt danger from that corner, by that one notion, which you formerly entertained, and which I think Dr. *Scot* has well eſtabliſhed, that the God of *Iſrael*,

Iſrael, of whom ſo many and great things are ſpoken in the *Old Teſtament*, is no other than the λόγος, who afterward became incarnate: I cannot apprehend how an *Unitarian* can hold this; and it is plain that thoſe, who in theſe later ages have oppoſed the deity of Chriſt, have much inſiſted upon our producing ſuch great things ſpoken of Chriſt, as are in the *Old Teſtament* ſpoken of the God of *Iſrael*; wherein they have, in my apprehenſions, betrayed their own weakneſs. But you, my dear friend, that have been throughly convinced of that truth, let me aſk you, how have you got off it? or, how can you make it conſiſt with your preſent ſcheme? I underſtand you lay great ſtreſs upon the fathers of the two firſt centuries; but why ſhould you leave the ſure rule for a fallible one? I own a deference due to them; but it ſeems unreaſonable to me, to form our notions firſt from them, and then to ſtrain the ſcriptures to ſpeak their ſenſe. Not that I think they favour your cauſe. I think it a plain end, that, as all the chriſtian churches in the world do now, ſo they did then worſhip the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. I will mention two places in *Juſtin Martyr*'s *Apology*, both to the ſame purpoſe, but the one clearing the other from the popiſh gloſs that would eſtabliſh the worſhipping of angels. In the third page of his ſecond *Apology* we have theſe words, as an account of all chriſtians. *Illum (Patrem) ipſiuſq; Filium venientem et nos et exercitum bonorum angelorum ſui ſequacium et ſimilium docentem, et ſpiritum propheticum adoramus et colimus.* About two pages after he expreſly ſays, they worſhipped the Father in the firſt, the Son in the ſecond, and the ſpirit of Prophecy in the third place. Now in my apprehenſion, this declaration of the object of worſhip has great weight, and is of much greater force than any paſſages which may ſeem rather to expreſs

expreſs the author's peculiar ſentiment: for if this were the conſtant and univerſal practice of chriſtians, what could it be built upon, but ſuch principles as are held by the defenders of this bleſſed trinity? I think I could eaſily, produce a great deal more from the moſt ancient writers; but I have exceeded the bounds of a letter already: I ſhall therefore break off, when I have added, that it is my moſt earneſt deſire that God would lead us, and all his people, into all truth. I am,

Your affectionate Friend and Servant,

J. PEIRCE.

Pardon my ſurmize, that you did not firſt ground your notions on the holy ſcriptures: I think it is not without foundation; for while I liv'd near you, no man ſtudied the ſcriptures more, and no man freer from thoſe apprehenſions. This makes me judge that ſomewhat elſe gave the firſt turn, which, in my judgment, was not ſufficient.

But obſerve that the ſame Mr. *Peirce* had before ſhewed himſelf to me as a like zealous *Athanaſian* in the year 1706. For when he peruſed my *Eſſay on the Revelation* in MS. and found that I had in general affirmed, that our Saviour did not know ſome divine myſteries, and particularly the time for the day of judgment, till after his death and reſurrection, in a plain way, without the addition of the uſual words *in his Human Nature*, he would have no nay, but I muſt add thoſe words: which I then did, by his over perſuaſion, againſt my own judgment. But ſince I have ſeen full reaſon to omit them, as he did himſelf afterward. Even ſomewhat after this time, he was ſo ſtanch an *Athanaſian*, that when at my recommendation he had read over that ancient and eminent book, *Novatian*

vatian D. Trinitate, and acknowledged, it favoured the ſame *Euſebians* or *Unitarians*, yet did he hold faſt his *Athanaſian* doctrine ſtill. However, when the ſame Mr. *Peirce* came to *London*, ſoon after I had publiſhed my four volumes, which was in 1711; he met me, accidentally, at Mr. *Bateman*'s, the bookſeller's ſhop, in *Pater-noſter-row*. I aſked him whether he was reading my volumes? he confeſſed he was not; and began to make ſome excuſes why he was not bound to read them. Upon this I ſpoke with great vehemence to him; "That a per-"ſon of his learning, and acquaintance with me, "while I had publiſhed things of ſuch great conſe-"quence, would never be able to anſwer his refuſal "to read them to God and his own conſcience." This moved him. He bought my books immediately, and read them, and was convinced by them to become an *Unitarian*, or *Euſebian*, as I was, and was perſecuted for the ſame by the *Diſſenters*, as I was by the church of *England* afterward.

In the year 1709, I printed *Sermons and Eſſays upon ſeveral Subjects*.

(1.) On the penitent thief.

(2.) The peculiar excellency of the chriſtian religion.

(3.) The antiquity of the chriſtian covenant. [which two laſt give, I think, more light to ſome diſputes now on foot about *Moſes*'s law, and his omiſſion of the ſanctions of the rewards and puniſhments of the next world, in his legiſlation, than all that has been of late written upon that argument.]

(4.) Againſt the ſleep of the ſoul.

(5.) Charity-ſchools recommended. This is the ſame ſermon that was preached at *Trinity-Church*, *January* 25th, 1704-5, but now reprinted with the addition of a particular account of our charity-ſchools in *Cambridge*, of which already.

(6.) Upon

(6.) Upon the ſeveral aſcenſions of Chriſt. [Reprinted and enlarged.]
(7.) Upon the brethren and ſiſters of Chriſt.
(8.) Reaſon and philoſophy no enemies to faith.
(9.) On the reſtoration of the *Jews*.
(10.) Advice for the ſtudy of divinity: with directions for the choice of a ſmall theological library.

N. B. When I firſt wrote the 8th diſcourſe here ſet down, I paſſed by *Atherſton*, a market-town in *Warwickſhire*, where I ſtayed all night, with a very valuable friend of mine, Mr. *Shaw*, who was then a ſchoolmaſter there; and whoſe worthy ſon was lately his ſucceſſor. I left the paper with him for his peruſal, that we might diſcourſe of it in the morning: when he came to me, with a good deal of ſurprize, that I therein had declared I did not believe the proper eternity of hell torments: which he ſaid was a ſubject he had written upon, for the ſatisfaction of a neighbouring gentleman, who made the doctrine of their eternity an almoſt inſuperable argument againſt the chriſtian religion. But my friend, ſaid I, you wrote for that doctrine, I believe, becauſe you thought it was contained in the *New Teſtament*; he confeſſed it was ſo; but Sir, ſaid I, ſuppoſe I can ſhew you that this doctrine is not contained in the *New Teſtament*, will not that alter the caſe? he confeſs'd it would: upon which we got Dr. *Hammond*'s *Diſcourſe for that Eternity*, with a *Greek New Teſtament*, and the *Septuagint* for the *Old Teſtament*: when, in about two hours time, I demonſtrated to him, that the words uſed about the duration of thoſe torments in the *New Teſtament*, all over the *Septuagint*, whence the language of the *New Teſtament* was taken, did no where mean a proper eternity: which he confeſſed before I left him; and acknowledged that I had given him a freedom of

of thought in that matter, which he had not before. Of all which matters, ſee my own larger pamphlet upon that ſubject; of which hereafter. I alſo once talked with him about the *Athanaſian* doctrine of the Trinity, and its abſurdity: he told me he had not ventured to think upon that ſubject; and whether he afterward ventured to do it, I do not know. He was a very conſiderable man; and had he not been depreſſed by his confinement to the paſtoral care, in two ſmall neighbouring villages, *Badgly* and *Baxterly*, where I uſed ſometimes to preach for him, together with the buſineſs of a ſchool; I always thought him capable of being a conſiderable man in the learned world.

N. B. When the 10th diſcourſe, or *Directions for the Study of Divinity*, came to be peruſed by Mr. *Hallet*, a diſſenter, who kept an academy at *Exeter*, he was prodigiouſly pleaſed with them, and, with the higheſt compliments, deſired ſome farther directions in that matter; but he withal cautioned me not to direct my anſwer to himſelf; for, as he intimated to me, "if it were known that he kept "correſpondence with me, he ſhould be ruined." Such, it ſeems, was the zeal of our diſſenting brethren at that time at *Exeter*: (of which my old friend Mr. *Peirce* partook plentifully afterward.) However, I having kept a copy of my *Reply*, I ſhall give it the reader preſently, for his own inſtruction, as it was then written; tho' ſome few things might be ſtill corrected and improved.

(11.) To theſe 10 was added at firſt *Incerti Auctoris de regula Veritatis, ſive Fidei:* Vulgo *Novatiani de Trinitate Liber.* But ſince my learned friend Mr. *Jackſon* publiſhed, 1728, this excellent treatiſe, with very large and uſeful notes, while my edition had no notes at all; I deſire this may be omitted in all future editions.

Camb.

Camb. May 1, 1710.

SIR,

THO' I received your very kind letter ſome time ago, yet have I not been at full leiſure to anſwer it till now. I am very glad that any of my books have given you, or any other honeſt chriſtian, any light and ſatisfaction in your ſacred enquiries. As I fully and thankfully own the goodneſs of God to me in bleſſing my ſtudies, ſo far as any of his ſacred truths are illuſtrated by them; ſo do I heartily deſire that all other well diſpoſed perſons, would themſelves go to the ſame fountains that I have recommended, and correct any occaſional errors and miſtakes I may have fallen into in matters of ſuch importance. The ancient chriſtian doctrine is plainly the ſame which the body of the chriſtian church, even ſo low as the fourth century, maintained againſt the *Athanaſian* hereſy; and which the *Athanaſians* would needs call *Arian:* without any other juſt occaſion for ſuch a title, but that ſhe would not deſert any chriſtian truths, becauſe *Arius* and his particular followers aſſerted them; nor would ſhe peremptorily condemn the *Arians*, ſtrictly ſo called, for ſome novel expreſſions, which yet ſhe did not approve nor juſtify, becauſe ſhe was not fully ſatisfy'd of their being falſe. As to the method of your ſtudies, *Varenius*'s *Geography* will be very proper to be read for the doctrine of the ſphere, and other things, before you come to my *Aſtronomy*. After which, biſhop *Beveridge*'s *Chronology* will be proper. After which, archbiſhop *Uſher*'s *Chronology* and *Annals* come in order, with my own *Chronology of the Old Teſtament*, and *Harmony of the Evangeliſts*. For geography, get the beſt ſcripture maps by you, particularly that in *Lamy*, and travel along the ſame all the way; and then alone read the deſcriptions, and ſearch for the teſtimonies, when

when you nicely examine that geography; which will not be neceſſary the firſt time. You are right as to the biſhop of *Worceſter*'s Bible: 'tis now grown the common Bible in the larger editions. As to the method of common-placing in an interleav'd or interlin'd Bible, 'tis not difficult. Thus upon *Daniel*'s weeks, *Dan.* ix. refer to the tenth hypotheſis of my *New Theory*, where you have my learned friend Mr. *Allin*'s proofs, that the old year was 360 days, which year I then thought to be us'd in thoſe weeks, and to be the very key of that prophecy. Thus alſo upon *Gen.* iii. 15. Note all the places whence it appears that the Meſſias was to have a mother, but not a father; as I have noted them in my *Boyle*'s *Lectures*, page 92, 93. A little uſe will make you ready at this way: tho' I myſelf rather wiſh I had, than really have purſu'd it all along my ſtudies. But if I were to begin again I ſhould certainly do it. The original doxology, *Glory be to the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Ghoſt*, ſeems to mean thus, Glory be now, and ever given to the ſupreme God the Father, by the mediation of the Son, and aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit.

I have now anſwer'd your particular queſtions, and hope that theſe ſmall additions, join'd to my former larger directions, will be of uſe to you in your ſtudies, and ſufficient to ſet you in the right way in general: which, when you have made ſome progreſs in, you will be able to be your own guide in ſuch matters. As to the dangers and perſecutions I have expoſed myſelf to by my late writings, I knew my duty as a chriſtian, and did reſolve to hazard all in the world, rather than be unfaithful to the truths of *Chriſt*, or ſuffer the church to be any longer ſo groſly impos'd upon, as ſhe has long been, by the writers of controverſy, and the tyranny of antichriſt. Yet, bleſſed be

God, I have been all along ſo providentially directed and preſerved in this perilous undertaking, that my loſſes have been none at all from the publick, and my dangers ſoon over: ſo that I now eſteem theſe ſacred truths paſt danger of being ſuppreſs'd, and myſelf, in great part, paſt the danger of violence on their account. Tho', if God ſee fit, ſtill farther to try me, *his will be done.* The *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, in *Greek* and in *Engliſh*, are now in the preſs; as will my *Eſſay* upon them ſoon be alſo. But my *Account of the Primitive Faith* will, I hope, come to a publick examination before it is printed. I ſuppoſe you have ſeen my imperfect *Eſſay on the Epiſtles of* Ignatius, which I am now compleating; and which, if not throughly anſwered, will gain all I contend for; eſpecially when the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* themſelves, ſo undoubtedly ſupported by them, appear more commonly among chriſtians, and appear to be of equal authority with the four goſpels themſelves, as they really were in all the firſt times of the church. I pray God proſper your honeſt ſtudies and endeavours, and make you an uſeful member of his church, and am,

Your very humble Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

About this year, 1710, *Monkenius*, a learned man in *Germany*, wrote to Dr. *Hudſon*, the learned keeper of the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*, to procure him an account of me; whoſe writings then made, as he ſaid, a great noiſe in *Germany*. Dr. *Hudſon* employ'd his darling pupil and relation Mr. *Fiſher*, my late very good friend, and very uſeful juſtice of peace, at *Thirlby* near *Bourn*, *Lincolnſhire*, but now dead, to go to my patron biſhop *Moor*,

Moor, for a character of me, who, when he had given me a very good one, ſaid, that "A very "good man may be miſtaken." Mr. *Fiſher* aſked his lordſhip, whether he would give him leave to uſe his name for my character: but he was unwilling to it. This account I had from Mr. *Fiſher* himſelf.

Some time in the ſummer this year, 1710, or rather the foregoing year, 1709, it muſt have been, when my beſt friends began to be greatly affrighted at what they heard I was going about, both as to the *Euſebian Doctrine*, which then was univerſally called the *Arian Hereſy*, which I had embrac'd; and as to the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, which favoured that doctrine, and were by me fully aſſerted to be genuine. Two of them, Dr. *Laughton* and Mr. *Prieſt*, came together, in a way of kindneſs, to diſſuade me from going on, and to repreſent to me the hazards and dangers I ſhould bring upon myſelf and my family thereby. My reply was quick: "Dr. *Laughton* and Mr. *Prieſt*, you are my very "good friends, you love me well, and I love "you well; but as to what I am now about, I "know you are both quite ſtrangers to thoſe mat-"ters, and ſo your arguments cannot influence me: "but for myſelf, I have ſtudied theſe points "to the bottom, and am throughly ſatisfied "the chriſtian church has been long and groſly "cheated in them; and, by God's bleſſing, if it "be in my power, it ſhall be cheated no longer. "And now I have told you this, you may as well "perſuade the ſun (which then ſhone bright into "the room where we were) to come down from "the firmament, as turn me from this my reſo-"lution." Which firmneſs of mind ſoon put an end to their ſolicitations.

The like reſolute anſwer almoſt I made to Dr. *Bentley*, when he once came to me at *London*, upon

the convocation's falling upon me afterward, and aimed prodigiouſly to terrify me with their irreſiſtible authority. After which, I was hardly aſſaulted any more in this way; and continuing to act boldly, according to my duty and conſcience, enjoyed a great calm within; how roughly ſoever the waves and billows abroad ſeemed ready to overwhelm me. Nor do I remember that during all the legal proceedings againſt me, which laſted, in all, four or five years at *Cambridge* and *London*, I loſt my ſleep more than two or three hours one night on that account. This affords a ſmall ſpecimen of what ſupport the old confeſſors and martyrs might receive from their Saviour, when they underwent ſuch miſeries and torments, as we ſhould generally think unſupportable by human nature. But to proceed; as to myſelf, when I ſaw that it was not unlikely that I might come into great troubles, by my open and reſolute behaviour in thoſe matters, and reſolving to hazard all in endeavouring to reſtore the religion of Chriſt as he left it; which I well knew what it was in almoſt every ſingle point: I took particular notice of the martyrdom of *Polycarp*; and learned that admirable prayer of his at his martyrdom by heart: and if it ſhould be my lot to die a martyr, I deſigned to put up the ſame prayer, in the ſame circumſtances; being ſatisfied that no death is ſo eligible to a chriſtian as martyrdom, in caſe the preſervation of his integrity and a good conſcience make it neceſſary.

In this year 1710, I publiſhed a firſt very ſmall imperfect *Eſſay on the Epiſtles of St.* Ignatius: But this was afterward greatly improv'd, and became a large diſſertation, and is prefixed before theſe epiſtles in the firſt volume of my *Primitive Chriſtianity Reviv'd*; whither I refer the reader.

About the middle of the ſame year 1710, I wrote a ſmall *Memorial* for ſetting up charity-ſchools univerſally

verſally in *England* and *Wales*: It was preſented to that ſociety of which I was a member, called, *The Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge*; which had charity-ſchools under their care; and was, I think, one of the oldeſt of thoſe excellent ſocieties, greatly promoted, if not firſt founded, by my dear friend Dr. *Thomas Bray*. This memorial was reprinted, and ſubjoined to what copies I had remaining of my *Primitive Infant Baptiſm Reviv'd*, of which preſently.

Since I am fallen upon the mention of Dr. *Bray*, I cannot but recommend a ſmall book lately publiſhed, by a nameleſs author, concerning him; intituled, *Publick Spirit illuſtrated in the Life and Deſigns of the Reverend Thomas Bray, D. D. late Miniſter of Aldgate*; which I was preſented with, when I lately, at *Atherſton*, met with Mr. *Shaw*, jun. and Mr. *Carpenter*, Dr. *Bray*'s very worthy ſon-in-law, and ſucceſſor in the paſtoral care of *Sheldon*, near *Coleſhill*, *Warwickſhire*, and in the patronage of the beſt chriſtian nobleman whom I ever knew, the good lord *Digby*. The contents of which book I can almoſt always atteſt to be true myſelf; and have ever eſteem'd Dr. *Bray*, not as one of the greateſt abilities, but, by far, the moſt uſeful clergyman, and moſt indefatigable promoter of religion, and of thoſe pious deſigns and ſocieties which conduce thereto, that I ever knew; whom I always honoured and aſſiſted, both in the review of his catechetick lectures, and his other many charitable and chriſtian attempts; and heard him comforting himſelf with thoſe numerous good works he had ſo heartily promoted near his own death. And I well remember, that he once ſaid to me, when he was preparing to go as a miſſionary or commiſſary to the *Weſt-Indians*, and expected a good income to be provided for his ſupport there, "Brother *Whiſton*, "if you will go with me, you ſhall go halves with

" me in my profits." But my ill health, and other circumſtances, would not permit me to go with him: tho' my heart and good wiſhes were ever with him. And I afterwards found that providence intended to make uſe of me for other very great purpoſes at home, I mean the reſtoration of Primitive Chriſtianity, as it was left by our Saviour himſelf throughout the world; which end I ſtill endeavour to purſue at this great age, and hope I ſhall ever purſue while I live in this world. And may the divine bleſſing attend my ſincere endeavours! *Amen.*

However, upon occaſion of this mention of Dr. *Bray*, I muſt be allowed to take notice of a fact or two in which he was concern'd. The very learned Mr. *Maſon* had been at *Hanover*, in his travels, ſome time before the ſucceſſion of that family to our crown; and when he came back, Dr. *Bray* happened to be with him, and obſerved to him, how happy and religious our nation would be, when the houſe of *Hanover* came! Upon which Mr. *Maſon*, who had ſeen what ſuch courts were in *Germany*, as well as in *England*, told him, " Matters of religion would " not be mended when that family came hither," which made Dr. *Bray*'s blood then riſe in indignation againſt him. Yet when that family had been here ſome years, the good doctor was forced to alter his mind; and too ſadly to acknowledge the truth of Mr. *Maſon*'s melancholy prediction.

At another time, in king *George* I's reign, a great noiſe was made about a club at court, called the *Hell Fire Club*; and it was ſaid that a maid of honour to the princeſs of *Wales* was one of them. Whereupon, diſcourſing with Dr. *Bray* about that matter, who with all good men had ſuch enormities in the utmoſt deteſtation: [tho' by the way this demonſtrated but too plainly the truth of Mr. *Maſon*'s prediction.] I told him, that I knew Dr. *Harris*,

Harris, the chaplain to the then prince of *Wales*, now our ſoveregin, whom I took to be an honeſt man; and would ſpeak to him about it. It being naturally the chaplain's duty to take cognizance of ſuch ſcandals in their own families. The doctor reply'd, "*Dr.* Harris *expects preferment*, you "muſt therefore take care of it yourſelf." I allow'd this hint, which at firſt I had not thought of, was proper: accordingly I waited myſelf on the lady *Gemmingen*, who was with the princeſs, and whoſe brother was my ſcholar in the mathematicks, becauſe the princeſs of *Wales* then lay-in, and I could not directly come at her royal highneſs. I then informed her of the ſtory, on purpoſe that ſhe might inform the princeſs, which ſhe did: but upon enquiry, no-body would confeſs themſelves guilty: tho' the thing at that time was but too notorious. Only ſome ſtop was, I ſuppoſe, put to that infamous club for that time. But O, what a ſad, but prevalent topick am I now come to! *The Expectation of Preferment: More Preferment!* the grand thing commonly aimed at both by clergy and laity; and generally the utter ruin of virtue and religion among them both! poiſon, ſweet poiſon; firſt poured upon the church by *Conſtantine the Great*, and greedily ſwallowed, both by papiſts and proteſtants, ever ſince. But bleſſed be God who hath *given me*, inſtead of that ſweet poiſon, *Agur*'s admirable wiſh: *Neither poverty nor riches: But hath fed me with food convenient for me.* Prov. xxx. 8. Dr. *Barrow* may have confuted the pope's ſupremacy, beyond the poſſibility of a reply: but the popes will ſtill exerciſe that ſupremacy, and the *Romaniſts* ſubmit to it, without any ſcruple notwithſtanding. Dr. *Newton* may have proved the unlawfulneſs of pluralities of cures and non-reſidence, to the utmoſt ſatisfaction of every impartial reader: but the

clergy, whether bred up in the church of *England* originally, or brought over from the diſſenters, will ſeldom ſcruple taking as many cures as they can compaſs, or the law of the land, with the utmoſt ſtretch, will allow them notwithſtanding. Tho' it be very plain that the chriſtian religion does not permit clergymen to raiſe families out of the revenues of the church. See my *Account of Chriſtian Diſcipline*, page 57, 58. and *Life of Dr.* Clarke, page (firſt edition) 160—163. Nor even as to temporal dignities and revenues, does it appear to me, either that any of the *Jewiſh* governors, who were raiſed up by God, ſuch as *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, and *Samuel*, before they extorted a king from him, to their own great miſchief, had any allowance from the publick at all. Nor indeed that, after their return from *Babylon*, their governors had any more than forty ſhekels or half-crowns a day, *i. e.* hardly one thouſand eight hundred pound a year, beſides a table kept for their family. *Nehem.* v. 14, 15. Nay indeed, it does not appear to me, that that *Civil Liſt*, as we call it, or thoſe courtiers who procure the greateſt places for themſelves, are at all happier than thoſe in a lower ſtation of life. And a great concern it is to ſee, ſo many both of the clergy and laity, made poor and miſerable, only to pamper a few ſuch as are not made one jot more happy than they would otherwiſe have been. Nor do the reſidentiaries and rich prebends in cathedral churches, all founded under popery, except when they are given, as they ought all to be, to poor vicars or curates, that really labour in the vineyard of *Chriſt*, and really want them, as they ſeldom are, do any thing elſe, than give clergymen a pretence for non-reſidence on their own cures; and accuſtom them to an higher way of living than they would otherwiſe have been contented with, nay, ſometimes ſhorten the lives of the poſſeſſors.

And

And that the reader may be apprized of the little advantage that accrues to religion or learning from ſuch prebends in the cathedrals, which are among the principal of our church preferments; I mean after our biſhopricks and deanaries, and archdeaconries; take this moſt remarkable letter of archbiſhop *Cranmer*'s to the lord *Cromwell*, extant in Bp. *Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation*, records for Vol. III. N°. 65, as follows, *verbatim.*

A letter of Thomas *lord archbiſhop of* Canterbury *to* Cromwell, *upon the new foundation of* Canterbury.

An Original.

My very ſingular good lord,

AFTER my moſt hearty commendations, theſe ſhall be to advertiſe your lordſhip, that I have received your letters dated the 27th day of *November*, and therewith a bill concerning the deviſe for the new eſtabliſhment, to be made in the metropolitan church of *Canterbury:* by which your lordſhip requireth my advice thereupon, by writing, for our mutual conſents. Surely, my lord, as touching the books drawn, and the order of the ſame, I think that it will be a very ſubſtantial and godly foundation: nevertheleſs, in my opinion, the prebendaries, which will be allow'd 40*l.* apiece yearly, might be altered to a more expedient uſe. And this is my conſideration; for having experience both in times paſt, and, alſo, in our days, how the ſaid ſect of prebendaries have not only ſpent their time in much idleneſs, and their ſubſtance in ſuperfluous belly-cheer, I think it not to be a convenient ſtate or degree to be maintained and eſtabliſhed. Conſidering, firſt, that commonly a prebendary is neither a learner, nor a teacher, but a good viander, then,

then, by the ſame name, they look to be chief, and to bear all the whole rule and preheminence in the college where they be reſident: by means whereof the younger, of their own nature, given more to pleaſure, good cheer, and paſtime, than to abſtinence, ſtudy, and learning; ſhall eaſily be brought from their books to follow the appetite and example of the ſame prebendaries, being their heads and rulers: and the ſtate of the prebendaries hath been ſo exceſſively abuſed, that when learned men hath been admitted unto ſuch room, many times they have deſiſted from their good and godly ſtudies, and all other virtuous exerciſe of preaching and teaching. Wherefore, if it may ſo ſtand with the king's gracious pleaſure, I would wiſh that not only the name of a prebendary were exiled his grace's foundations, but alſo the ſuperfluous conditions of ſuch perſons. I cannot deny but that the beginning of prebendaries was no leſs purpoſed for the maintenance of good learning and good converſation of living, than religious men were: but foraſmuch as both be gone from their firſt eſtate and order, and the one is found like offender with the other, it maketh no great matter if they periſh both together: for to ſay the truth, it is an eſtate which St. *Paul*, reckoning up the degrees and eſtates allowed in his time, could not find in the church of *Chriſt*. And I aſſure you, my lord, that it will better ſtand with the maintenance of chriſtian religion, that in the ſtead of the ſame prebendaries were twenty divines, at ten pound apiece, like as it is appointed at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and twenty ſtudents in the tongues and *French*, to have ten marks apiece. For if ſuch a number be not there reſident, to what intent ſhould ſo many readers be there? and ſurely it were great pity, that ſo many good lectures ſhould be there read in vain. For

as

as for your prebendaries, they cannot attend to apply for making of good cheer. And as for your twenty children in grammar, their maſter and their uſher be daily otherwiſe occupied in the rudiments of grammar, than that they have ſpace and time to hear the lectures. So that to theſe good lectures is prepared no convenient auditory. And therefore, my lord, I pray you let it be conſidered, what a great loſs it will be to have ſo many good lectures read without profit to any, ſaving to the ſix preachers. Farther, as concerning the reader of divinity and humanity, it will not agree well, that one man ſhould be reader of both lectures: for he that ſtudieth in divinity, muſt leave the reading of prophane authors, and ſhall have as much to do as he can, to prepare his lecture to be ſubſtantially read: and, in like manner, he that readeth in humanity had not need to alter his ſtudy, if he ſhould make an erudite lecture. And there, in mine opinion, it would be office for two ſundry learned men. Now concerning the dean and others to be elected into the college, I ſhall make a bill of all them that I can hear of in *Cambridge*, *Oxford*, or elſewhere, mete to be put into the ſaid college, after my judgment. And then of the whole number the king's highneſs may chuſe the moſt excellent. Aſſuring you, my lord, that I know no man more mete for the dean's room, in *England*, than Dr. *Crome*, who, by his ſincere learning, godly converſation, and good example of living, with his great ſoberneſs, hath done unto the king's majeſty as good ſervice, I dare ſay, as any prieſt in *England*. And yet his grace daily remembreth all others that do him ſervice, this man only except; who never had yet, beſides his gracious favour, any promotion at his highneſs's hands. Wherefore, if it will pleaſe his majeſty to put him in the dean's room, I do not doubt

doubt but that he ſhould ſhew light to all the deans and maſters of colleges in this realm: for I know that when he was but preſident of a college in *Cambridge*, his houſe was better ordered than all the houſes in *Cambridge* beſides. And thus, my lord, you have my final advice concerning the premiſes, which I refer unto the king's grace's judgment, to be allowed or diſallowed at his highneſs's pleaſure. Sending unto your lordſhip, herewithal, the bill again, according to your requeſt. Thus, my lord, moſt heartily fare you well.

At Croyden, 29*th day of* Nov. [1539.] *Your own ever aſſured,*

T. CANTUARIEN.

But to proceed: We are now come to this paſs, that if the law of the land permit us, we ſeem to have hardly any notion left of a law of *Chriſt*, that may forbid us any thing whatſoever. For a ſpecimen of this, I muſt tell a melancholy ſtory of my own knowledge. When I was once talking with the lord chief juſtice *King*, one brought up among the diſſenters at *Exeter*, under a moſt religious, chriſtian, and learned education, we fell into a debate about ſigning articles, which we did not believe for preferment; which he openly juſtified, and pleaded for it, that *We muſt not loſe our uſefulneſs for ſcruples.* [Strange doctrine in the mouth of one bred up among diſſenters! whoſe whole diſſent from the legally eſtabliſhed church was built on *ſcruples.*] I reply'd, that I was ſorry to hear his lordſhip ſay ſo; and deſired to know, whether, in their courts, they allowed of ſuch prevarication or not? He anſwered, They did not allow of it. Which produced this rejoinder from me, "Suppoſe God Almighty ſhould "be as juſt in the next world, as my lord chief "juſtice is in this, where are we then?" To which he

he made no anſwer. And to which the late Queen *Caroline* added, when I told her the ſtory, *Mr.* Whiſton, *no anſwer was to be made to it.*

Nay farther, if the remarks on a part of a bill brought into the houſe of lords, by the earl of *Nottingham*, 1721, and intituled, *A Bill for the more effectual Suppreſſion of Blaſphemy and Profaneneſs*, ſuppoſed to be written by the biſhop of *London*, be not quite miſtaken, " That thoſe of the " clergy, who are underſtood to be favourers of the " *Arian* doctrines, (for that was the *blaſphemy* and " *profaneneſs* here principally meant) will ſubſcribe " the Teſt therein mentioned againſt *Arianiſm*, is " moſt certain; becauſe the Teſt is part of the " thirty-nine articles: and it is an avowed prin- " ciple among them, that thoſe articles may law- " fully and conſcientiouſly be ſubſcribed in any " ſenſe, in which they themſelves, by their own " interpretation, can reconcile them to ſcripture; " without regard to the meaning and intention, " either of the perſons who firſt compiled them, " or who now impoſe them.—'Tis alſo ſaid here, " That this method of ſubſcribing has been occa- " ſionally mentioned as a very lawful and regular " way, in many other of the *Arian* books; and " is what they all openly and profeſſedly maintain " in their common converſation: that ſeveral of " them have actually ſubſcribed, and received pro- " motions ſince they fell into theſe opinions, and " became advocates for them. And the author " ſays, he had not known or heard of any one " man among them, who has declin'd the offer of " promotion, on account of his not being able to " ſubſcribe." Now tho' this is ſaid in much too general a manner, and both Mr. *Emlyn* and myſelf always, and Dr. *Clarke* and Mr. *Jackſon* after ſome time, have refuſed all preferments that require that ſubſcription: not to name others within my acquaint-

acquaintance, becauſe their caſes are not ſo well known: yet are ſuch examples, to be ſure, very rare among us; and the generality ſeem, by their practice, to approve of the lord *King*'s grand expedient; *Not to loſe their uſefulneſs for ſcruples.*

Now that the reader may ſee, in ſhort, what a circle a poor clergyman of *the church of England* is to run through, before he can be legally poſſeſſed of a living at this day; and which I muſt have run through myſelf, before I could have been poſſeſs'd of the living of *Penſehurſt*, ſome time ſince offered me, had I accepted it, of which hereafter, take this doleful catalogue, in the words of Sir *Simon Degg*, in his *Parſon*'s *Counſellor*, printed 1676, chap. vi. as follows.

" The ſixth chapter ſhews what a clerk is to do " before, at, and after his admiſſion, inſtitution, and " induction, to make him a compleat parſon.

" No man at this day, ſays the author, is ca- " pable to be a parſon, vicar, *&c.* before he is a " prieſt in orders; which he cannot be before he " is twenty-four years of age, as has been ſaid; " and if any perſon ſhall be admitted, inſtituted, " and inducted into any living, before he is in " holy orders, his admiſſion, inſtitution, and in- " duction are void, by the late *Act of Uniformity.* " Secondly, he muſt make his ſubſcription [to the " *thirty-nine Articles*, &c.] according to the ſaid " act; and have a certificate from the biſhop, *&c.* " under his hand and ſeal, that he hath ſo done; " and then, within two months after he is in- " ducted, he muſt, upon ſome *Sunday* or *Lord's-* " *Day*, during divine ſervice, (that is, after ſome " part of the divine ſervice of the church for that " day appointed is read, and before the whole is " finiſhed,) read the *thirty-nine Articles of Religion*, " in the pariſh church, *&c.* into which he ſhall " be inducted, and declare his unfeigned aſſent

" and

" and conſent to all that is therein contain'd; and " he muſt likewiſe, within two months actual " poſſeſſion of ſuch benefice, *&c.* (which is in- " tended within two months of induction, or in- " ſtallation, *&c.*) read *The Book of Common-Prayer* " (that is, the whole ſervice of the church ap- " pointed for that day, as it is there appointed,) " and likewiſe declare his aſſent and conſent to all " the matters and things therein contained, in theſe " words, I *A. B.* do declare my unfeigned aſſent " and conſent to all and every thing contained in " and preſcribed, *&c.* by the book intituled, *The* " *Book of Common-Prayer, and Adminiſtration of* " *the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of* " *the Church, according to the Uſe of the Church of* " England; *together with the Pſalter or Pſalms of* " David, *pointed as they are to be ſung or ſaid in* " *Churches*, and the form or manner of making, " ordaining, and conſecrating of biſhops, prieſts, " and deacons.

" And if any parſon, vicar, *&c.* fail in the " doing of any of theſe things beforementioned, " or any of thoſe be neglected, the church be- " comes void; and the clerk that makes ſuch fai- " lure, in caſe he ſhall ſue for his tythes, or any other church duty, or other thing belonging " to the church; if the defendant inſiſt upon it, " muſt prove the doing of all theſe things—— " And it is to be obſerved, that the parſons, vicars, " *&c.* muſt, upon the acceptance of every new " living or eccleſiaſtical preferment, within this " law, repeat all theſe things; for the perfor- " mance of all theſe things, upon the taking of " one living, will not ſatisfy for any other.

" I ſhall give my reverend clergymen there- " fore this caution, if any of them have accepted " any eccleſiaſtical preferments, and have negli- " gently omitted any of theſe things, and that " thereby

" thereby they may be lapſed to the king, that " they obtain preſentations from the king *ad coro-* " *borandum*, and that thereupon they perfect all " their former neglects.

" And for the future I adviſe them, that they " firſt have ſome credible witneſſes preſent, when " they make their ſubſcription before the biſhop; " and that they atteſt the biſhops certificate; and " that they get two books of articles, and that, " when they read the *thirty-nine Articles*, they give " one of thoſe books of articles to ſome credible " pariſhioners, to read with them, and then atteſt " the book, that they were preſent, and heard the " clerk read the ſaid *thirty-nine Articles*, during " the time of common-prayer, and declared his " unfeigned aſſent and conſent to all the matters " and things therein contained, by ſubſcribing their " names thereunto; and that the clergyman keep " ſafely the ſaid book of articles, with this at- " teſtation. And I adviſe, that when he reads the " book of *Common-Prayer*, which muſt (as above " is ſaid) be read Morning and Evening, in all " things which are preſcrib'd therein within two " months after induction, that he likewiſe make " ſome intelligent pariſhioners to read with him, " and give him a copy of the declaration afore- " ſaid, and at the foot of it take an atteſtation " under their hands of his reading the ſame book " of *Common-Prayer* and *Declaration*. Which may " be done in this form.

" Firſt, in a fair and legible hand, write the *De-* " *claration* aforeſaid. Then write under to this " effect. *Memorandum*, That, upon *Sunday* the " day of in the year of our Lord *A. B.* " *Parſon* of *D* in the county of *D* " read *Common-Prayers* in the pariſh church of " *D* aforeſaid, both in the forenoon and " afternoon of the ſame day; according to the form

" and

" and order preſcrib'd and directed by the book,
" intitled, *&c.* And immediately after the reading
" the ſame, made a declaration of his unfeigned
" aſſent and conſent, to all the matters and things
" therein contained, in the former words above
" written. And then let the witneſſes hereunto ſub-
" ſcribe the ſame certificate: which the clerk is to
" keep carefully with his inſtitution, induction, and
" certificate, with the book of articles, atteſted as
" is above directed, and, in theſe things, I adviſe all
" clergymen to be very tender and careful."

Now the reader may note here, that the *New Teſtament*, with the *Apoſtolick Conſtitutions and Canons*, and all the qualifications in the epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus* are intirely omitted, and the whole is put upon the truth and certainty of the church of *England*'s ſettlements, as then by law eſtabliſhed; without regard to any other rule whatſoever. To be ſure Sir *Richard Steel* hit the mark, when he thus diſtinguiſhed the two principal churches in *Chriſtendom*, the church of *Rome* and the church of *England*; that the former pretended to be *infallible*; and the latter to be *always in the right.*

N. B. The reader muſt give me leave to tell him here another fact, which will hardly come in better any where elſe, but ſtill relates ſo directly to myſelf, that it ought not to be omited in theſe *Memoirs* of my own *Life:* It is this:

Soon after the acceſſion of the houſe of *Hanover* to the throne, Sir *Joſeph Jekyl*, that moſt excellent and upright maſter of the rolls, and ſincere chriſtian; Dr. *Clark*'s and my very good friend; had ſuch an opinion of us two, that we might be proper perſons to be made biſhops, in order to our endeavouring to amend what was amiſs in the church; and had a mind to feel my pulſe, how I would reliſh ſuch a propoſal, if it ever ſhould be made me: my anſwer was direct and ſudden; that I would not ſign the xxxix *Arti-*

ticles to be archbiſhop of *Canterbury:* to which Sir *Joſeph* reply'd, that biſhops are not obliged to ſign thoſe articles. I ſaid I never knew ſo much before. But ſtill I added, if I were a biſhop I muſt oblige others to ſign them; which would go ſorely againſt the grain with me. However, I added further, that ſuppoſing I ſhould get over that ſcruple, and eſteem this act only as miniſterial; which would by no means imply my own approbation, yet when I were a biſhop, I ſhould certainly endeavour to govern my dioceſe by the chriſtian rules, in the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, and in St. *Paul*'s epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus:* which as they would frequently contradict the laws of the land, would certainly expoſe me to a præmunire, to the forfeiture of all my goods to the crown, and to impriſonment as long as the king pleaſed. *And this*, concluded I, *would be the end of biſhop* Whiſton. So I thought no more of it. I might have added alſo, what would for ever exclude me from a biſhoprick in the preſent ſtate of the church, the 31ſt *Canon* of the apoſtles. *If any biſhop makes uſe of the rulers of this world, and by their means obtains to be a biſhop of a church, let him be deprived and ſuſpended, and all that communicate with him.* See my *Chriſtian Diſcipline*, page 56.

I conclude this matter with that very pertinent and emphatical reply, which a fellow of *Emanuel* college in *Cambridge* made to a friend of his of the ſame college, when at the Reſtoration; wherein, by Mr. *Baxter*'s account, 1800 clergymen [a prodigious number this] were deprived for non-conformity, he had been repreſenting the great difficulties of conformity in point of conſcience; concluding, however, with theſe Words: *But we muſt live.* To which the other anſwered only, with the like number of words, *But we muſt die.* Than which a better anſwer could not poſſibly be given.

Upon

Upon this occaſion of the turning out 1800 peaceable clergymen in *England* out of their cures, into the wide world, for *Non*-conformity, 1662, and upon occaſion of the indignity put upon the very name of *Non*-conformiſts, by the publick vogue ever ſince: As alſo upon occaſion of the turning out of no ſmall number of clergymen in *England* and *Scotland*, 1689, for being *Non*-jurors; and the like indignity put upon the very name of *Non*-jurors by the publick vogue ever ſince; I cannot but remark how unjuſtly this is done in both caſes; ſince it appears that thoſe *Non*-conformiſts and *Non*-juring clergymen, whether they were in the right or wrong, have acted moſt againſt their worldly intereſt, and according to the conſciences of all their brethren; and deſerve real honour on thoſe accounts. And I cannot but fear that a time will come hereafter, when the tables will be turned, and many ambitious Conformiſts and Jurors will be in evil caſe; and even the names of Conformiſts and Jurors will be rather in reproach; becauſe they ſeem'd to prefer their intereſt to their conſcience in this world.

N. B. Our late addreſſes to the crown, nay, our prayers and ſermons ſtill call our preſent conſtitution in church and ſtate, an *Happy Conſtitution*. I cannot join in the epithet *happy*: Since I verily think it a moſt *unhappy* one, as having not the leaſt diſtinct regard to the laws of God, to the *Bible*, or to Chriſtianity, in any of our courts, civil or temporal; nay, not in our eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual courts neither. To ſay nothing more of the permiſſion of a biſhop to be Non-reſident for ſix years together, and yet to be prefer'd afterward to three other biſhopricks ſucceſſively: of the like permiſſion of biſhops, as well as prieſts and deacons, to marry twice, nay thrice, nay four times, and ſtill to give them leave to officiate as biſhops, prieſts, and deacons ſtill; contrary to the known laws of the goſpel, not only

recorded in the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* and *Canons*, but in the ordinary books of the *New-Teſtament*. See my *Chriſtian Diſcipline*, page 31—38, and my *Friendly Addreſs to the Baptiſts*.

Nor can I do other than pity, heartily pity, every good proteſtant king and queen of *England*; as well as every good proteſtant A. B. of *Canterbury* ſince the Reformation; between whom the old uſurped power of the pope of *Rome*, as pretended head of the church, is now divided by act of parliament, for granting thoſe diſpenſations, as to the laws of *Chriſt* and the *Apoſtolical Canons*, which quite enervate chriſtian diſcipline, and almoſt ſet aſide the chriſtian religion in this kingdom.

But before I proceed farther, give me leave to try to ſhame thoſe called chriſtians, to act with more regard to the *Bible* and the laws of chriſtianity than they do at preſent, by producing a moſt remarkable relation, taken out of *Prince* Cantemir's *Hiſtory of the* Ottomans, page 103, 104, 105, which will clearly ſhew, how vaſtly greater regard the *Turks* pay to their *Coran*, than we do to our *Bible*. The hiſtory is this. When Sultan *Mahomet* II. took *Conſtantinople*, *A. D.* 1453, it was part of it taken by force; and in that part the chriſtian religion was ſuppreſs'd. But the other part was delivered up by compoſition; and an agreement was made that the chriſtian religion ſhould be preſerved, as well as the churches and clergy thereto belonging. This toleration was enjoyed till the reign of Sultan *Selim* I. who had a mind to force all the chriſtians to turn *Mahometans*, as the only way to their ſalvation. Accordingly, when the Mufty was once with him, he aſked him, "Whether it was "moſt meritorious, to fight for the propagation of "the true religion, and the ſalvation of ſouls, or "for temporal dominion?" The Mufty was not throughly

throughly apprized of the full intention of the Grand Seignior; but ſaid, "That to fight for the true "religion and ſalvation of ſouls (one of which was "of more worth than the whole world) was by far "the moſt meritorious." So that when a decree of the Grand Seignior's was brought him to ſign, for aboliſhing the chriſtian religion in *Conſtantinople*, and obliging all the chriſtians there to turn muſſulmen, he raſhly ſigned it; and thereby, according to their law, it was become ſacred and irrevocable. When the Grand Viſier found how this matter ſtood, he was ſorely grieved; and went and reproached the Mufty for what he had done; ſhewing him how expreſly this decree contradicted the *Coran*; which directly allowed toleration to all that would pay annual tribute: The Mufty hereupon confeſſed his miſtake, and ſware that he would undo what he had done. Accordingly the Grand Viſier and Mufty ſent to the chriſtian patriarch and clergy to demand a legal trial before the Mufty; which, it ſeems, could not be denied them. At which time they ſolemnly pleaded the expreſs law of the *Coran*, and the publick league which had been made with them. When this law of the *Coran* was pleaded from the text itſelf, and the agreement of the commentators in its interpretation, the Mufty declared, that ſo it was: and that this law was to ſtand inviolable; and therefore the decree muſt be reverſed. Nor durſt the Grand Seignior oppoſe. However, the Tefdar, or treaſurer, who, as his office required, pleaded for the Sultan, ſaid farther, that the chriſtians, beſides the authority of the *Coran*, alledg'd an agreement or league alſo; which he inſiſted they ſhould produce. In this caſe the chriſtians pleaded, that ſuch a league was certainly made; but the record of it was burnt in a fire, that had ſome time ſince happened at *Conſtantinople*. Which they proved by producing three very old Janiſaries; who ſo-

lemnly atteſted the truth of it, which they well remembered. So the chriſtians carried their cauſe intirely; and the toleration which they ſtill enjoy at *Conſtantinople*, muſt be owing to their ſucceſs in this important tryal, with the Sultan's own ſubmiſſion to their ſacred *Coran*, and ſtrict regard to their league. Nor was he able to do more againſt the chriſtians at this time, than to order the demolition of the generality of the chriſtians fine churches there, built of ſtone; and to oblige them to be content with more humble ones, built of wood. Which decree was not contrary either to the *Coran* or league. This was executed accordingly. I wiſh, heartily wiſh, that the *moſt Chriſtian* and *Catholick Kings*; with our own *Defender of the Faith*, may ſhew as great a regard to the *Bible*, as the Sultan did to the *Coran*.

In the year 1710, *Octob.* 30, I was baniſhed the univerſity of *Cambridge*; with which ſeverity, when Mrs. *Roberts* of *Glaiſton*, afterward reproached Dr. *Richardſon*, rector of that town, and Maſter of *Peter-houſe* in *Cambridge*, one of thoſe that baniſhed me, he replied, "Of what they did at *Cambridge* "they were not bound to give an account to any "body." Accordingly no one, that I know of, has ever written in contradiction to my accounts, or in vindication of that baniſhment, to this day.

In this year 1710, but before that baniſhment, I publiſhed *Prælectiones Phyſico Mathematicæ, Cantabrigiæ, in Scholis publicis habitæ.* Quibus *Philoſophia Illuſtriſſimi* Newtoni *Mathematica explicatius traditur; et facilius demonſtratur. Cometographia etiam* Halleiana *Commentariolo illuſtratur. In uſum Juventutis Academicæ. Typis Academicis*, 8vo *pretium*, 4*s.*

N. B. Theſe lectures were alſo put into *Engliſh* afterward at *London*, and publiſhed there, under my own review, but corrected by Mr. *Cunn*.

In page 53, 54, of the *Latin* edition, there was a miſtake made in the rule for finding the motion of

of elaſtick bodies after their colliſion: which was rectified in the *Engliſh* by Mr. *Cunn*.

N. B. I had been ſeveral years, before my baniſhment, a member of that moſt valuable ſociety, called, *The Society for Promoting Chriſtian Knowledge*; one of thoſe greatly encouraged, if not firſt formed, by my old friend Dr. *Bray*, already mentioned. Now it happened, that from the year 1708, I had gone into deeper enquiries and deſigns; no leſs than the diſcovery and reſtoration of truly Primitive Chriſtianity, as our Saviour and his apoſtles left it, without all regard to modern ages: while this ſociety thought themſelves only capable of ſupporting things as they then ſtood in the church of *England*, by law eſtabliſhed: I therefore ſoon found my frequenting that ſociety any longer, would rather occaſion conteſts and diſputes, than promote chriſtianity; would hinder rather than further even thoſe really good deſigns, as I ſhould eſteem them, of the ſociety. Hereupon I thought it beſt to withdraw my attendance. And, on *December* 18, 1710, I wrote a letter to their ſecretary, to be communicated to the ſociety; ſuch an one as Mr. *Nelſon*, one of the beſt of all our members, as I have been told, greatly approved of. It was inſerted into the books of that ſociety; and thence I preſent it to the reader; having not myſelf found a copy of it among my own papers. It was in theſe words; directed to Mr. ſecretary *Newman*, who had long been my great friend.

Union-Court, 18 *Dec.* 1710.

SIR,

THIS comes to give our ſociety, for promoting chriſtian knowledge, the reaſon of my abſenting myſelf from their meetings now I am come to reſide in town; whereas I ſo ſeldom uſed

to fail them, when I was but occaſionally there. I confeſs, I am not able to enter into this matter, nor to abſent myſelf from the ſociety without ſome concern and uneaſineſs. I have the ſame deſigns for advancing true genuine chriſtian knowledge and practice that the reſt of the ſociety have. My heart is entirely with them, in their brave and religious, and charitable and chriſtian undertakings. I am ſtill as willing and as ready as ever to aſſiſt and encourage, and adviſe in any of their affairs. I own myſelf to receive no ſmall benefit, comfort, and edification myſelf from their ſociety; and I cannot, without unwillingneſs and regret, bear to be excluded or baniſhed from them. Yet do I by no means think it prudent in me, conſidering the circumſtances I am at preſent under, any longer to frequent their meetings, ſince there may ſuch inconveniencies thence ariſe, as may hinder, not only myſelf, but the reſt, from doing that good which otherwiſe might be expected. Inſomuch, that the very ſame deſign of *doing good*, which prompted the ſociety to chuſe me at firſt, and me to accept the ſame, and to frequent their aſſemblies, ſeems now to require my abſenting myſelf from them: ſo long I mean, as the reaſons for ſuch abſenting ſhall ſtand good; and till thoſe important things, I have to propoſe to the chriſtian world, be ſo throughly examined, that I may ſtand juſtified before all good men, and they may ſee it neceſſary to join my deſigns with thoſe which they are already engaged in, in order to a thorough reformation of the chriſtian church, and the haſtening the coming of our Saviour's kingdom of peace and holineſs. This, I very believe, will be found neceſſary in no very long time. But ſince it is not in that ſtate at preſent, and ſuſpicions and jealouſies may eaſily riſe in the mean time, I do hereby take my leave of the ſociety; begging of God to bleſs them in all their religious undertakings, and

and to open the eyes of the chriſtian world, to ſee, believe and practice exactly according to the revelation by his Son: and offering my hearty ſervice to the ſociety, and every member of it, in any ſuch deſigns as in my preſent circumſtances I may be aſſiſting in, in a more private manner; and hoping that Almighty God will, in this matter, accept of my hearty good will for the deed, and not exclude me from all rewards of thoſe pious undertakings, which I have hitherto been ready to promote more openly, and which I ſhall ſtill be ready to promote by my own private endeavours, good wiſhes, and prayers for their ſucceſs, and advancement in the world.

I am,
Sir, the Society's, and
Your moſt humble Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

Having juſt now mentioned ſo excellent a perſon as Mr. *Nelſon*, who wrote againſt Dr. *Clarke*, and tranſmitted the ſolemn thanks of the clergy of the *Gallican* church to biſhop *Bull*, for his vindication of the council of *Nice*, and moderate *Athanaſianiſm*, when her two moſt learned men, *Petavius* and *Huetius*, had, in effect, given it up; I ſhall here inſert a letter of mine to him, never before printed, upon the ſame ſubject.

Camb. July 31, 1710.

Much honour'd Sir,

I Heartily thank you for your good wiſhes and prayers for me; as ſuppoſing me running into a dangerous hereſy; and nothing can be more charitable or more chriſtian than what you do upon that ſuppoſition. But ſure, good Sir, the opinions I have entertain'd,

entertain'd, *after* moſt frequent and ſincere prayers to God for his direction; *after* an unbiaſs'd and thorough examination of all the ſacred and authentick writers of the firſt times; *after* the hazard of all my hopes and preferment, of my family, nay, of my life itſelf in this world; *after* not only the attainment of full and clear ſatisfaction in my own mind, but the affording the ſame ſatisfaction to ſome others, who came with dread and caution every ſtep, yet were not able to deny the evidence that I produc'd; *after* not only offering, but earneſtly preſſing the examination of my papers upon the archbiſhops and biſhops, and the univerſity; *after* having plainly ſilenc'd the truly learned, ſo far that not one of them appears willing to anſwer what I have to ſay. *After* all this, certainly you ought not to write as if I were evidently in the wrong; and that, inſtead of any examination, whether it be ſo or not, you only would have endeavours us'd for my conviction. I am ſo well aſſured that the doctrine, which that body of the chriſtian church, which their adverſaries would call *Arian*, teach, is no other than the plain doctrine of the *New Teſtament*, of the apoſtolical conſtitutions of *Ignatius*, and all the ancients; that it is with me a branch of my common chriſtianity: and as to the main, not to be diſbeliv'd by me while I am a chriſtian. And the evidence I have for what I ſay is *undeniable:* as I am ready to ſhew at what time, and before what company, you ſhall pleaſe to hear it debated. And, good Sir, give me leave to ſay, that ſuch doctrines as you and biſhop *Beveridge* do ſupport in theſe matters, are no better than the heretical notions which *Tertullian* and ſome of the *Montaniſts* took from elder *Hereticks*; and which were afterward propagated by thoſe ignorant and pernicious *Hereticks*, *Marcellus* and *Athanaſius*, contrary to the ſenſe of the

the body of the chriſtian church in their times: and which, as improv'd by the later ignorant ages, have come down to our days; but begins to be ſeen and rejected by all the moſt learned and moſt impartial enquirers. Sure, Sir, we are not to believe *Myſteries* farther than they are a part of the revelation of *Chriſt*; and ſo far I fully believe any that are laid before me. But to believe any on the credit of ſuch ignorant forgers as *Athanaſius*, or *Vigilius Thapſitanus*, you muſt excuſe me. We are to *call no man maſter upon earth*; *ſince one is our maſter, even Chriſt.* Even an apoſtle would not pretend to *have dominion over the faith of chriſtians*; but exactly kept to that which *Chriſt* had deliver'd. Neither *they, nor an angel from heaven, could preach any other doctrines of the goſpel* than had been committed to them by *Chriſt* himſelf, and which now appear in the apoſtles conſtitutions. And as I am fully ſatisfy'd that thoſe conſtitutions are of equal authority with the four goſpels themſelves, and contain no other than that faith I contend for, ſo do I think you greatly guilty of the neglect of thoſe cautions before-mentioned, when you declare ſo firm a belief of, and eager concern for ſuch doctrines, as have plainly no foundation in all the original books of our religion. I run no hazard as to another world, becauſe I keep cloſe to that faith and practice which was *once delivered to the ſaints*, without ſuffering any ſynod or human authority to turn me at all out of the way: whereas you venture in the moſt ſacred concerns, to believe and practice as the country and church, wherein you were educated, happen'd to inſtruct you, and ſeem to think it a piece of impiety to do otherwiſe. I muſt confeſs, I cannot but wonder at the learned, and eſpecially at the clergy; that when things of that mighty conſequence are ſo ſolemnly propos'd to their conſideration, they generally ſatisfy themſelves

ſelves to go on year after year, without troubling themſelves about them: nay, they ſtill venture to uſe the moſt heretical creed that is now extant in the world, I mean that aſcrib'd to *Athanaſius:* as if there were no account to be given hereafter, but the authority of the church were ſufficient to ſet aſide that of our bleſſed Saviour, and his holy apoſtles, and to excuſe all ſuch antichriſtian practices now among us. I heartily wiſh that your zeal, integrity, and concern for true religion, might be made an inſtrument of bringing theſe moſt important matters to a fair and publick examination; for then I eaſily foreſee the conſequence. Pure and primitive chriſtianity muſt then obtain: and the conſtitutions of *Chriſt* by his apoſtles, inſtead of human laws and articles, muſt be the ſtandard of our religious actions, and of our faith alſo. Which that they may ſoon be, is the earneſt endeavour and prayer of,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

At the end of the ſame year, 1710, I firſt publiſhed my *Hiſtorical Preface.* It was afterwards improved, and made a real *Preface* to my four volumes; which came not out till 1711. It then included, as a firſt appendix, an account of my proſecution at, and baniſhment from the univerſity of *Cambridge.* But ſince that edition, this laſt account was reprinted 1718, with ſome additions; I deſire the future editions may be made from that copy. The ſame thing is true of that *Account of the Convocation's Proceedings* with relation to me; which, at firſt, was publiſhed by itſelf, ſome conſiderable time before the end of the year 1711. But this having been reprinted, and made *The Second Appendix to my Hiſtorical Preface,* when

when it was become the real *Preface* to my firſt volume, which was publiſhed a little before the end of that year, thither I refer the reader.

N. B. I alſo read about a year other publick lectures, after thoſe before-mentioned, and before my baniſhment from the univerſity: which contained an account of all the ancient eclipſes of the ſun and moon, that have been preſerved to us, in the very words of the original hiſtorians. A copy of which lectures was repoſited in the archives of that univerſity. Which lectures were afterward printed, and ought to be added at the end of ſome of the fore-mentioned aſtronomical, or phyſico mathematical lectures.

The reader is alſo to obſerve, that I invented the *Copernicus*, an aſtronomical inſtrument, and afterwards publiſhed, for the examination of all thoſe, and indeed of all the ancient eclipſes, that could poſſibly be ſeen in any parts of the world, of which we have any ancient hiſtories preſerv'd, and this with much greater eaſe, tho' not with quite the exactneſs, than formerly, by the uſual tedious calculations; that ſo no hiſtorians or chronologers might ever be at a loſs hereafter, for the circumſtances of ſuch eclipſes as are mentioned by any ancient author whomſoever. Accordingly I calculated by it the eclipſes of the ſun and moon for four ſeveral periods of eclipſes, *i. e.* for four 18y. 11d. 7h. 43m. $\frac{1}{3}$, at the diſtance each from other of 800 years, *i. e.* for 418 to 400 years before; and 400 to 418, and for 1200 to 1218 years *after* the chriſtian æra: beſides thoſe in my own time from 1700 to 1718. A table of which eclipſes, 250 in number, I have now by me, not yet publiſhed; but which ought to be added to the future additions of theſe lectures, both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*.

It

It muſt have been about the year 1711, when I was come newly to *London*, upon my baniſhment from the univerſity, that Dr. *Clarke* introduced me into the company of the lady *Caverly*, in *Soho-Square*; whoſe daughter by her firſt huſband, or niece, had been married to biſhop *Lloyd*'s ſon; which occaſioned her acquaintance with that great man, and her ſtudying the revelation of St. *John*, about which ſhe was greatly inquiſitive. She had now living with her one Sir *John Hubern*, a ſort of a ſecond-hand huſband, but ſuch an one as neither owned her for his wife, nor gave her his name; and, in ſhort, as I learned afterward, was ſuſpected to live with her in fornication: however, ſhe being a believer, loved to have chriſtians of good reputation come and dine with her, ſuch as ſhe thought Dr. *Bradford*, Dr. *Clarke*, and myſelf; as Sir *John Hubern*, being an unbeliever, loved to have perſons like himſelf; ſuch as Mr. *Collins*, and Dr. *Tyndal*, and where accordingly we uſed to meet, and to have frequent, but friendly debates, about the truth of the bible and chriſtian religion. After ſome time, when I was informed of this very ſuſpicious affair, I was uneaſy; and told Dr. *Clarke* that he had brought me into a ſnare; and deſired him to let me know whether the lady *Caverly* and Sir *John Hubern* were marred or nor? his account was blind and uncertain: that he ſuppoſed they had been married ſomewhere beyond ſea, when ſhe met with him in the army, after ſome aukwark ſort or other; and that they had lived as man and wife ever ſince, tho' he would never own her for his wife. This account made me ſo uneaſy, that I could not go on with my viſits to my own ſatisfaction, till the matter was better cleared up; and I deſired to know the bottom of it before I proceeded; of which I had a very good opportunity ſoon offered, which I took hold of immediately:

ly: it was this; dining myſelf alone with the lady *Caverly* one *Saturday*, I happen to ſay, that I deſign'd the next day to go to *Bow Church*, of which Dr. *Bradford* was miniſter, and indeed one of the beſt of all the *London* miniſters; to ſtay the communion with him. Upon which ſhe ſaid, ſhe would alſo come to the communion with me. Whereupon I went immediately to Dr. *Bradford*, who knew the report of her living in fornication with Sir *John Hubern* as well as I, and deſired him to deny her the communion upon that report; and we would then go home with her, and talk with Sir *John* about it. Dr. *Bradford* thanked me for my information and advice, and reſolved to act accordingly: ſo in the morning we both came, as was agreed; and Dr. *Bradford* told the lady, that upon occaſion of this ſcandal, he muſt refuſe her the communion, if ſhe offered herſelf: upon which ſhe fell into tears; as earneſtly deſiring to be owned for Sir *John Hubern*'s wife, but not able to compaſs it. After the communion was over, the lady carried us home in her coach, where we found Sir *John*. I ſoon broke the matter to him, and told him, that Dr. *Bradford* had been forced to do an hard thing to the lady *Caverly*, and to refuſe her the communion, becauſe they lived as man and wife, but he did not own her for his wife. I ſaid, that this behaviour was unjuſtifiable, not only upon the foot of chriſtianity, but of common morality and humanity while an heathen ought not ſo unworthily to expoſe the honour of a lady. Sir *John*, upon this charge, pretended to deny his living with her as man and wife, and made as if he only managed her affairs, as a lawyer, or a friend only. I reply'd, that the lady was there, and knew it to be otherwiſe; and that it was no doubt but he lived with her as his wife, as much as Dr. *Bradford* and myſelf lived with our wives. So

he

he found this would not bear: I added, that whatever imperfection there had been in the manner of their former marriage, Dr. *Bradford* and myſelf were both clergymen, and would either of us, if he pleaſed, marry them publickly again; in which I knew no harm. When he would not agree to that, I ventured to declare my own opinion, that the lady ought to leave him, as the moſt unexceptionable way ſhe could take in her preſent circumſtances. Dr. *Bradford* was too tender in that matter to agree with me for her leaving him, now they had lived ſo long together. Upon which Sir *John* went his way in great diſcontent and uneaſineſs, as not liking our freedom with him; yet too genteel to put any affront upon us. Then it was that Dr. *Bradford* told the lady, that ſince he now ſaw that ſhe could not help herſelf, he would no more refuſe her the communion; which was the upſhot of this converſation; and we went on with our uſual viſits accordingly at her own houſe, till in no long time Sir *John* died, and what he left her in his will was not left as to his wife, but only as to the lady *Caverly*. In ſome time ſhe alſo died, after a very long and very tedious Illneſs of a cancer in her breaſt, and deſired me to attend her and pray with her, with I did. She alſo left my wife 50*l.* in her will; to *her* I ſay, not to *me*; who, as ſhe ſuppoſed, would quickly be in priſon, and ruined for hereſy. And ſince I have ſaid thus much of good Dr. *Bradford*'s exerciſe of ſo much chriſtan diſcipline, as is the refuſal of the communion for ſtrong ſuſpicion of fornication; I will give another example of it. When Sir *Charles Duncomb* was lord-mayor of *London*, *A. D.* 1709, he was to come, according to cuſtom, to Dr. *Bradford* at *Bow Church*, to take the communion: the Dr. heard that he kept an whore in his houſe, and went to him to talk with him about it, and to let him know that he could not

not give him the communion; Sir *Charles* put a good face upon a bad matter, and pretended to wonder at ſo unjuſt a ſcandal; and promiſed, that he would take care that no farther occaſion ſhould be given for any ſuch ſuſpicion. Whereupon, Dr. *Bradford* gave him the communion that time. But after that, the Dr. heard that Sir *Charles* did ſtill, for certain, retain his old whore: on which account he wrote him a letter, that he would no more give him the communion. Theſe inſtances of diſcipline were ſo very right, and chriſtian, and yet are ſo rare amongſt us at this day, and I ſo throughly knew them both to be true, that I could not ſatisfy myſelf to omit them in this place.

The ſame year, 1711, I publiſhed *A reply to Dr.* Alix's *remarks on ſome places of my books, either printed or MSS.* with an *Appendix*; containing (1.) *The Preface to the doctrine of the Apoſtles.* (2.) *Propoſitions, containing the Primitive Faith of Chriſtians, about the Trinity and Incarnation.* (3.) *A Letter to the moſt Reverend* Thomas *Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Preſident of the Convocation*, 8vo. Price 6 *d.*

Page 4, 5. About the double date of the firſt prophecy of *Ezekiel*, in our preſent copies, I have propoſed another and a better conjecture in the *Eſſay on the Old Teſtament*, page 82, 83. And I add here, that in all the prophetick books of the *Old Teſtament*, we have none, even in our preſent copies, but *Ezekiel* and *Jonah*, that begin with *and*, which naturally implies, that ſome other prophecy or prophecies originally went before thoſe now extant. And that accordingly, we have great reaſon to believe, from other ancient teſtimonies, that theſe two principally had other predictions, beſides thoſe that now appear in their preſent copies. See the foremention'd *Eſſay*, page 57, 58, 83, 84. Note alſo, that the abſence of the *and*, in the ſecond verſe of

Ezekiel, is an argument that this verſe might, at firſt, well begin that prophecy.

Page 10. Concerning the two *Oxford* MSS. ſee Dr. *Grabe*'s eſſay upon them; of which preſently.

Page 18, 19. Note, that the anſwers to certain objections againſt the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* here offered, are but imperfect: as to which, more will occur when I come to the *third Volume of Primitive Chriſtianity Reviv'd*; and to St. *Clement*'s, and St. *Irenæus*'s *Vindications of thoſe Conſtitutions.*

Page 25, *&c.* as to the *Appendix*, the reader may alſo find more ſatisfaction in the ſame *third Volume of Primitive Chriſtianity Reviv'd*, page 287, *&c.*

Page 36, 37. at the bottom, that clauſe in the common copies of the council of *Nice*, that this council anathematiz'd thoſe who affirmed that Chriſt was κτίσος created; and which I both here, and elſewhere, for ſome time, allowed to be genuine, proved afterwards, for certain, to be an *interpolation*; nay, for certain, an *Athanaſian interpolation*; nay, with very great probability, an *interpolation* made by *Athanaſius* himſelf: See my *Athanaſius convicted of forgery.* Of which hereafter.

Soon after this, the ſame year, 1711, I publiſhed *A Second Reply to Dr. Alix*; with two *Poſtſcripts*; the firſt to Mr. *Chiſhul*; the ſecond to the author of *Reflections on Mr.* Whiſton's *Conduct*, [Dr. *Smallbroke.*] 8vo. price 6*d.*

Page 15, 16, 17. See, as before, what will be noted upon the *third Volume of Primitive Chriſtianity Reviv'd*, and upon St. *Clement*'s and St. *Irenæus*'s *Vindication of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions.*

Page 37, 38. As to my aſſertion concerning the *Tranſpoſitions* in St. *Matthew*'s goſpel, here refer'd to; ſee what I have in my corrected copy quoted out of *Monſ.* Toinard's *Harmony*, to the ſame purpoſe, page of this laſt *Harmony*, 108, 109.

In

In the ſame year, 1711, I publiſhed *Remarks on Dr.* Grabe's *Eſſay upon two* Arabick MSS. But ſince both the hiſtory of theſe two ſorts of MSS. as well as what Dr. *Grabe* and I underſtood of them, is much fuller ſet down in the *third Volume* of my *Primitive Chriſtianity Reviv'd*, page 525—564. I deſire this very imperfect paper may be printed no more.

N. B. What I had aſſerted here, and elſewhere, in my earlier writings, *viz.* That *Euſebius*, and the generality of the ancient writers had, in my opinion, copies of the eight books of *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* by them continually; tho' they thought themſelves obliged to conceal them from the publick; (which laſt thing is yet very clear for the church of *Antioch*, in St. *Ignatius*'s epiſtles to the *Philadelphians*, §. 8, 9.) and to refer to them in a more obſcure manner, as *Apoſtolical Didaſcaly, or Doctrine, or Apoſtolical Preaching, or Apoſtolical Tradition*, &c. I afterward ſaw reaſon to *ſuſpect*. Nor am I unwilling to grant on the contrary, that altho' their contents were univerſally owned to be of apoſtolical authority; and that theſe contents were all along tranſmitted down from the firſt to the fourth and follwing centuries, in the ſeveral churches, by ſome authentick method; which things appear to me certain; yet there is great room to doubt whether that method was the preſervation of intire copies of the books themſelves down, in all or the greateſt part of the apoſtolical churches, to which they were originally committed by the apoſtles, from one generation to another, VI. 14——18. VII. 46. As was the caſe of the publick books of the *New-Teſtament:* or whether thoſe books were themſelves ſeen by the generality of thoſe writers, who ſo frequently and undeniably bear witneſs to the *Contents* of them. It indeed appears to me very

evident, that they were truly written by *Clement*, in the days of the apoſtles; who in all copies and verſions atteſts them in the 85th canon. *See Eſſay on the Old Teſtament, Appendix.* Number II. page 116——188. That their *Contents* are all along as fully atteſted to, as are the *Contents* of the other books of the *New Teſtament*, by *Clement*, *Ignatius*, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Irenæus Origen*, &c. See the *third Volume of Primitive Chriſtianity Reviv'd*; with *St. Clement*'s, *and St. Irenæus*'s *Vindication of them.* That *Irenæus*, in his noble fragment, lately recovered by *Pfaffius*, quotes them as a *Book* or *written Record*; tho' as not then commonly known, or read by chriſtians. See the laſt mentioned paper, page 19——26. That *Origen* alſo at laſt ſaw them and uſed them as the moſt ſacred concealed record of chriſtianity; and that the author of the *Synopſis ſacræ Scripturæ*, contemporary with *Origen*, as I ſuppoſe, knew of theſe *Clementines*, as apocryphal or concealed, but in part inſpired books of the *New Teſtament.* Of both which laſt, ſee the *Collection of Authentick Records*, page 695, and 703——707. That when the churches of *Ethiopia* were ſettled in the days of *Athanaſius*, they were then eight books, as they are now, and in the ſame order as they are now. See *Primitive Chriſtianity Reviv'd*, vol. III. page 520——564. That when *Didymus*, or whoever was the author of the counterfeit works of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, wrote his books, they were then a *book* alſo, as they now are; but ſtill a book concealed with the biſhops, and only epitomiz'd for the uſe of the people. See the ſame volume, page 564—580. That when the diſpute happened between the church and the *Audians*, in the days of *Epiphanius*, they were a book, frequently acknowledged by both parties, to be really apoſtolical, and in thoſe parts ſeem to have been a publick book alſo. See the

the ſame volume, page 585——604. That yet it was 150 years or more after that time, before it became a publick book in other parts of the chriſtian world; or was freely cited as ſuch by any writers now extant: all which appears by the evidence refer'd to. So that the main queſtion with me is plainly this; not whether theſe conſtitutions be really *genuine*, *canonical*, and *apoſtolical*, which ſeems to me perfectly undeniable; but how it has come to paſs that ſuch important records, for certain *genuine*, *canonical*, and *apoſtolical*, ſhould be tranſmitted down, not as a publick record, but rather as private or concealed books of the *New Teſtament*. Of which true ſtate of this matter, ſee what I have ſaid in *St. Clement's and St. Irenæus's Vindication of theſe Conſtitutions*, page 43——48. and chiefly in *the Collection of Authentick Records*, page 88—92.

N. B. It may not be improper to give an account here of a converſation I had with biſhop *Burnet*, ſoon after the publication of my four volumes, concerning the third of thoſe volumes; wherein I aſſerted and proved theſe conſtitutions to be really *genuine* and *apoſtolical*; Mr. *Benjamin Hoadley* (now biſhop) had informed me, that the biſhop was ſurprized, that one of my ſagacity ſhould believe ſo: whereupon I waited on the biſhop, and deſired to know his reaſons againſt them: his lordſhip replied, that he had ſome reaſons againſt them, but did not now remember them. However, he ſoon recollected one of thoſe reaſons, viz. the dryneſs and dulneſs of the prayers. To which I anſwered, that his lordſhip greatly ſurprized me by ſaying ſo: ſince I thought all that peruſed them allowed they were among the beſt prayers now in the world. The biſhop ſaid farther, in excuſe for his preſent unacquaintedneſs with ſuch matters of antiquity, (which Mr. *Hoadley* had hinted to me

already,) that 'twas thirty years ago ſince he read over the three firſt centuries; which well agrees with his notes, which I have by me, on the firſt and ſecond canons of the apoſtles, printed *A. D.* 1673; and with his ſon's *account of his life*; where he informs us, that for four years and a half at *Glaſgow*, from 1669, to 1673, he, every other *Thurſday*, "Explained ſome portion of the "ritual and conſtitution of the primitive church; "making the apoſtolical canons his text, and "reducing every article of practice under the "head of one of thoſe canons."

N. B. As a *Poſtſcript* to my *Account of the Convocation's Proceedings*, I made this year, 1711, *A Reply to the Conſiderations on my Hiſtorical Preface*, written by Dr. *Knight*, of St. *Sepulchre*'s, a learned and pious man. And to the *Premonition* to the reader, thereto prefixed, written by the not leſs pious, but much more learned and judicious Dr. *Lee*, 8vo, price of the whole pamphlet 1 *s.*

The ſame year, 1711, a little before the publication of my four volumes, I printed an half ſheet, intitled, *Animadverſions on the New Arian Reprov'd*, which had been publiſhed by Dr. *Smallbroke*; it is to be found among my collection of ſmall tracks, belonging to my five volumes.

Before this year, 1711, was out, I publiſhed my principal work, *Primitive Chriſtianity Reviv'd*, in four volumes 8vo.

Vol. I. Containing *The epiſtles* of *Ignatius*, both larger and ſmaller, in *Greek* and *Engliſh*.

Vol. II. *The apoſtolical conſtitutions*, in *Greek* and *Engliſh*.

Vol. III. *An eſſay on thoſe apoſtolical conſtitutions, to prove them genuine.*

Vol. IV. *An account of the primitive faith, concerning the Trinity and Incarnation.* Price 1 *l.* 8 *s*

Vol. I. *The Epiſtles of Ignatius*, biſhop of *Antioch*, both larger and ſmaller, in *Greek* and *Engliſh:* With the various Readings from all the MSS. [divided now into verſes.]

To which is prefixed, *An Hiſtorical Preface*, including the accounts of the univerſity, and convocation's proceedings with relation to the author. With a *Supplement* and *Poſtſcript.* As alſo, *A Preliminary Diſſertation*, proving, that the larger copies of *Ignatius*'s epiſtles are alone genuine: and the ſmaller only heretical extracts from them, made in the fourth century. To which preface is prefixed the apologetick of *Eunomius* intire, in *Engliſh.*

N. B. The name of each epiſtle is to be added at the top of each page hereafter.

Vol. II. *The Conſtitutions of the Holy Apoſtles*, by *Clement*, in *Greek* and *Engliſh:* with the various readings from all the MSS. [divided now into verſes.]

N. B. The number of the books is wanting at the top of each page, till the VIIth book: nor are the breadths of the *Greek* and *Engliſh* columns well adjuſted to one another. The *Greek* being uſually a little too narrow, and the *Engliſh* a little too wide; which may be prevented, with a little care, in ſucceeding editions.

N. B. We have in *Conſtitutions* V. 17. An aſtronomical determination of the place of the vernal equinox, when the ſecond rule for finding *Eaſter* was promulgated; *viz.* That it then fell on the 22d. of *Dyſtrus*, or *March*; which, within about 134 years, or rather the greater part of them only, determine it to have been about *A. D.* 135. Which was the firſt proper time when this rule could take place, upon the deſtruction of the church

of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, by *Adrian*; when the equinox was leaving the 23d, and coming upon the 22d day of *March*, as the astronomical observations, and tables agree. Now since the first rule belonging to the original copies of the *Constitutions*, still preserv'd in *Epiphanius*, was πολὺ πρότερον, much ancienter than this second rule; as we learn from *Eusebius* and *Epiphanius*; that first rule, and the *Constitutions* to which it belonged, must have been much ancienter than *A. D.* 135, or before the second century began. But what strongly confirms this rule as really apostolical, or rather as really deriv'd from our Lord himself, is the denomination which the learned *Anatolius* gave it, when, about *A. D.* 270, he stiles its contents in the plainest words possible, *The Lord's own Demonstrations*; tho' none of the translators or criticks durst so understand them: for had they so done, they must have confessed that the latest of these *Constitutions* was not only of apostolical, but of Divine Authority, in the opinion of *Anatolius*.

III. *An Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions*, wherein is proved that they are the most sacred of the canonical books of the *New Testament*.

N. B. That in my first edition of these four volumes, I introduced the fourth book of *Esdras*, as a spurious book, written in a fictitious manner, and under the fictitious name of *Ezra* or *Esdras*, whereas the honourable Mr. *Archibald Campbel*, as he told me himself, first started an opinion, that it was a true genuine prophetick book of the *Old Testament*; and Dr. *Lee* afterward examined it with the utmost nicety: and though he could by no means answer several of the objections made against it, yet, upon the whole, he took it to be genuine, and frequently quoted or alluded to by Christ and

and his apoſtles. Dr. *Knight*, of St. *Sepulchre*'s, his great friend, as I think, believed it alſo to be genuine.

And when I came myſelf to examine it throughly, I ſatisfied myſelf that ſo it was, and anſwered, with great eaſe, almoſt all the objections made againſt it. Dr. *Lee* not only wrote an intire diſſertation upon it, which is in print; but alſo wrote a moſt valuable expoſition of its VII. viſions, which I have formerly read in MS. and publiſhed my expoſition of its Vth viſion, by way of *Supplement* thereto; which is contained in my *Authentick Records*, page 75—88. Note alſo, that the text of this author is to be hereafter publiſhed in two Columns, from the vulgar *Latin*, and from the *Arabick* copies, as it ſtands at the end of my fourth Volume, and with the various readings given me, either by Mr. *Cruſius*, and ſet down at the end of the firſt volume of thoſe *Records*; or in my own copy, given me by Mr. *Conſett*, from the *Sclavonian* edition of this book, according to the vulgar *Latin*; the *Greek* being long ago loſt.

IV. *An account of the Faith of the two firſt Centuries, concerning the ever-bleſſed Trinity, and the Incarnation of our Lord*; in the words of the ſacred and primitive writers themſelves, both in their Originals, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, and in *Engliſh*. To which is ſubjoined, the ſecond [or rather the fourth] book of *Eſdras*, both from the common and the *Arabick* copy, juſt now mentioned.

In *January* 1711-12, I ſent the following Letter to the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Tenniſon*.

Lower End of Croſs-ſtreet, Hatton-Garden, January 9, 1711-12.

May it pleaſe your GRACE,

I Have been ſo often and ſo certainly inform'd that your Grace has not only received ſeveral very unjuſt, falſe, and ill-grounded reports, and ſtories of late againſt me, even as to the honeſty and integrity

integrity of my conduct in ſeveral matters, but has given ſuch credit and encouragement to them, as frequently to ſpeak of them with approbation, to my great diſadvantage; nay, to the great diſadvantage of that ſacred cauſe I am engaged in; and that without being pleaſed to afford me any notice of your having received ſuch information, or of giving me the opportunity of a vindication, that I can no longer forbear complaining of that and the like hard treatment; and I humbly beg for the equity and juſtice of a hearing in my own defence. I ſhall not here mention your grace's kind promiſe in your letter, that when you *ſaw my ſcheme, you would freely and without biaſs give me your thoughts of it*, which promiſe has not yet been perform'd; nor will I complain of the hardſhips which the laſt convocation put upon me, nor of the neglect of the publick communication of that letter, which I intended for the convocation; nor of that unfair treatment I have met with in print, from one of your own chaplains; nor of the ſevere uſage I have received from my dioceſan, and the rector of the pariſh, by not admitting me to the Holy Communion; nor of the hard meaſure I have had both the laſt year and this at *Cambridge*; becauſe all theſe things, how material ſoever in themſelves, are either not intirely owing to your grace, or are ſomewhat foreign to my preſent deſign. But then, although I ſhall not here complain of theſe things, yet I cannot but complain of thoſe other things, in which I think the hardſhip I am under is very great, affects my reputation very much, and is ſo far owing to your grace, that I cannot properly apply myſelf to any one elſe for relief therein. And tho' I own the great diſtance there is between your grace's high office and dignity, which you have ſo long and ſo worthily held in the church, and the mean place and ſtate I am in; together with the great duty and obſervance that is owing to

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that your ſacred office and dignity, which I am ever moſt ready to pay: yet are the primitive truths, and books of our holy religion, of much greater conſequence than the reputation and authority of any man whomſoever. In the propoſal whereof to the chriſtian world, the providence of God has been pleaſed to make uſe of me, as an inſtrument, and for my faithfulneſs to which truſt all this hardſhip has befallen me. I cannot therefore be ſilent under your Grace's ill opinion and cenſures any longer, without being wanting to my duty. I do therefore hereby humbly beg it as a point of favour, if I may not inſiſt on it as a point of juſtice, that I be openly heard before your Grace, and whom elſe you pleaſe to chooſe to be preſent, as to theſe ſtories or informations you have received to my diſadvantage. I only hope that I may be allowed to bring with me a few friends, as witneſſes on my ſide; that any expreſſions I may uſe in my own vindication may not be imputed to me as a crime, and that no informations may be admitted, as foundations for cenſure, but from perſons then to be preſent, or letters with names to them; that ſo ſuch ſtories, as have no authors to ſupport them, may be quite diſcouraged, and I may have afterward the better opportunity of fully clearing my reputation to all the world. This is what I cannot but expect from your grace's equity and juſtice in the preſent matter. I am, I confeſs, not a little ſurpriz'd, that a perſon of your grace's ſincerity, prudence, and experience, ſhould ſo eaſily change your opinion of my integrity, as you ſeem of late to have done; and that without any other foundation than hearing partial and groſs miſtakes, and miſrepreſentations of matters of fact, without your once deſiring to know the real truth, and what I had to ſay in my own vindication; eſpecially when your grace cannot but be ſenſible, that in ſuch a caſe as mine,

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the like ſcandals and falſe reports will of courſe abound every where. Were thoſe reports indeed never ſo true, they would not invalidate my evidence, nor render a ſolemn examination of my writings unneceſſary. Yet becauſe it is of great conſequence, as the prejudices of mankind are, that they ſhould be publickly known to be vain and groundleſs; and I am ſure, that by the aſſiſtance of God, I have all along acted ſo fairly, openly, and honeſtly in theſe matters, that I fear no examination; I do therefore deſire a publick hearing; being very confident, that whatever *ſufferings* may come on me *as a chriſtian*, I ſhall be able to ſatisfy your Grace and the world, that they cannot be inflicted on me *as an evil-doer*. 'Tis very hard, my lord, that before the learned have anſwered the evidence I have laid before them, for the authority of thoſe ſacred books and doctrines of our religion which I embrace, any ſhould endeavour to run me down by reproaches, calumnies, violence, and perſecution; and the hardeſt of all, that your grace's character and authority ſhould be made uſe of for the credit of ſuch unjuſt reproaches and calumnies, and by conſequence at laſt, for the encouragement of ſuch violence and perſecution alſo. I humbly beg your grace to receive this with your wonted equity and candour, and to believe me to be, with the greateſt ſubmiſſion and humility,

Your Grace's moſt obedient Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

To which I had the following anſwer from his grace's chaplain, Mr. *Benjamin Ibbot*, a friend of mine.

My

Lambeth-Houſe, Jan. 15, 1711-12.

SIR,

THE letter you lately ſent inclos'd to me, I deliver'd to his grace, and he has order'd me to acquaint you with two things.

Firſt, That the reaſon why he formerly abſtain'd from writing to you, was his obſervation of the manner of your dealing with others, in publiſhing, without leave, what they wrote to you.

Secondly, That the reaſon why he does now forbear to correſpond with you, is the unfitneſs of it from the nature of your caſe, which forbids him to intermeddle otherwiſe than in a publick capacity.

He is ſorry that you have written in this letter what is falſe, concerning the laſt you ſent to him at *Lambeth*, and which, upon the leaſt enquiry, you might have found to be ſo; *viz.* That he neglected the publick communication of a letter intended for the convocation.

I know it was ſent over to his grace's *ſubſtitute*, as ſoon as he had receiv'd and read it. It is true, it came to *him* juſt after the biſhops were riſen; but that happen'd from your own ſlowneſs in ſending of it; and it was not judged of moment enough to be laid before the ſynod on the following ſynodical day.

My lord aſſures you, that he wiſhes you no ill; but cannot do unfitting things for your ſake, and ſhould rejoice more at your converſion, than your ruin.

I am,

your affectionate friend,

and brother,

BEN. IBBOT.

To

To which I replied the next day,

January 16, 1711-12.

SIR,

I Received yours; and find thereby, that the anſwering the main deſign of my letter is intirely avoided. I perceive alſo, that his grace, as well as the reſt of the learned, are not willing their proper unbiaſs'd thoughts ſhould be known to me and to the world: ſo I ſhall no longer expect what his grace ſo freely promiſed me on that head; tho' he may be aſſured, that the leaſt hints of his deſire againſt a publication would certainly have prevented any ſuch thing; had thoſe his thoughts been never ſo freely communicated to me. As to the *falſehood* of what I ſaid, that his grace neglected the *publick communication* of my letter, intended for the convocation, that very account of the matter which you give me proves that it was *not falſe:* Since I meant by the neglect of that *publick communication*, that letter was not communicated *to the convocation publickly*, as it was deſigned to have been, in diſtinction from any communication to any other perſons. Nor am I any way relieved by ſaying his grace's *ſubſtitute* dropt it for private reaſons; ſince he could not have done ſo had he had it in charge to do otherwiſe: nor do I know who was then his grace's *ſubſtitute*, to make my complaint to him. And if it came too late the firſt day, certainly that was no reaſon why it might not have been communicated the next, or ſome of thoſe that followed: if his grace *wiſhes me no ill*, I hope he will pleaſe to ſhew it, by ſtopping all reports againſt my integrity, till that hearing is allowed me, which I inſiſted on in my laſt. And if his grace *ſhould rejoice more at my converſion than my ruin*, I hope he will ſhew it in reality hereafter, and put my matters into that way of fair *examination*, which is the only method for my con-

conviction and converſion; and not that of *legal proſecution*, which is the only way to my *ruin*, either in this world or the next; ſince his grace knows, that ſuch a legal proſecution can have no other effect, than either to expoſe me to excommunication and impriſonment, ſo as to *ruin* me and my family in this world; or, in order to the avoiding theſe temporal penalties, lay me under temptations of prevarication and hypocriſy; and ſo can only tend to my utter *ruin* for ever in the world to come. I do not know that I ever deſired his grace to do *unfitting* things on my account, unleſs it be unfit for a judge to hear before ſentence, and for a chriſtian to examine what comes recommended to him under the ſacred authority of Chriſt and his apoſtles. I am, Sir, (with humble duty to his grace.)

Your affectionate
brother and ſervant,

WILL. WHISTON.

To which I never received any anſwer; but only the archbiſhop complained to my old patron, biſhop *More*, how hard my letters were upon him: the reaſon of which is very obvious.

In *February* 1711-12, I publiſhed, in a half ſheet, *The Suppoſal*, or *A new Scheme of Government*; humbly offered to publick conſideration, by a lover of truth and peace; which I afterward reprinted, and owned it for mine. It is republiſhed at the end of my *Scripture Politicks*; of which hereafter.

In the ſame year, 1711-12, that great general, prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, was in *England*: and becauſe I did then, as I do now, interpret the end of the *Hour*, *and Day*, *and Month*, *and Year*, for the *Ottoman* devaſtations, *Apoc.* ix. 15. to have been put by his glorious victory over the *Turks*, *September*

ber 1, 1697, *O. S.* or the ſucceeding peace of *Carlowitz*, 1698. I printed a ſhort dedication of my firſt imperfect *Eſſay on the Revelation of* St. *John*, and fixed it to the cover of a copy of that Eſſay, and preſented it to the prince; upon which he ſent me a preſent of fifteen guineas.

The Dedication was thus;

Illuſtriſſimo Principi Eugenio Sabaudienſi, Vaticiniorum Apocalypticorum Unum, Turcarum Vaſtationibus finiendis deſtinatum, dudum adimplenti; Alterum etiam, de Gallorum imperio ſubvertendo, magnâ exparte, utiſpes eſt, mox adimpleturo, hunc Libellum ſummâ quâ decet reverentia, dat, dicat, conſecrat.

8 *id. Mart.* 1711-12.

GULIELMUS WHISTON.

In *April* 1712, I publiſhed what had been in part diſcovered by Dr. *Robert Cannon*, and ſtill farther improved by my great and learned friend Mr. *Rich. Allin*, a pamphlet, ſtiled, *Athanaſius convicted of Forgery*. In a letter to Mr. *Thirlby*, of *Jeſus College*, in *Cambridge*, in two ſheets. But becauſe it was afterwards twice improv'd, and reprinted; once in the *three Eſſays*, Page 196—203, and again, more compleatly, in the ſecond appendix to my *Argument*; where was added withal, *A Reply to Mr.* Thirlby's *ſecond Defence of Athanaſius*; I refer the reader to this laſt edition for his ſatisfaction.

In the ſame year, 1712, I publiſhed *Primitive Chriſtianity Reviv'd*, Volume V. containing, *The Recognitions of* Clement: Or, *The Travels of* Peter; in ten Books; done into *Engliſh*. As alſo two Appendixes, the one containing, *Some obſervations on Dr.* Clark's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*; and the other, *A farther Account of the convocation's and other proceedings with relation to me*. Svo. price 5 *s.* But with the four Volumes, 1 *l.* 13 *s*

As

As to the *Ebionite* edition, and interpolations of the catholick edition of theſe *Recognitions*, ſee the Collection of *Authentick Records*, Appendix VIII.

In the ſame year, 1712, I publiſhed a ſmall pamphlet, entitled, *Primitive Infant-Baptiſm Reviv'd:* Or, *An account of the doctrine and practice of the two firſt centuries, concerning the Baptiſm of Infants*, in the words of the ſacred and primitive writers themſelves, 8vo. to which is to be added, the *Memorial* for ſetting up charity-ſchools in *England* and *Wales*, dated *June* 10, 1610; of which already. This treatiſe of *Infant-Baptiſm* was afterward reprinted, without any alterations, and added to the ſmall edition of my four volumes.

Now the occaſion of my diſcovery of this antient error, of the baptiſm of uncatechiz'd infants, was a queſtion put to me by Mr. *Shelſwell*, when I was preparing to baptize him and a ſiſter of his, who were good chriſtians, excepting that they had never been baptiz'd before, whether I ſhould not think it were better, if baptiſm were deferred till after inſtruction, than uſed before it? My anſwer was this; That I muſt honeſtly confeſs, I ſhould myſelf have thought ſo: but that I was no legiſlator, and ſo ſubmitted to what I then took to be a law of Chriſt. *Conſtitut.* VI. 15. "Do you alſo baptize your "infants, and bring them up in the nurture and ad-"monition of God? For, ſays he, ſuffer the little "children to come unto me, and forbid them not." When Mr. *Shelſwell* was gone, I reflected upon what had been ſaid, and was diſſatisfied that I had been forced to allow that, in my opinion, this law of Chriſt was not ſo right as it ſhould be. Whereupon I immediately ſet myſelf to examine, what the *New Teſtament* and the moſt early fathers meant by the words which they uſed, when they ſpeak of baptiſm of *Infants*, or *Little Children*, I mean νήπια & παιδία, and which they eſteemed not in-

capable of that holy ordinance. And I ſoon diſcovered, that they were only thoſe that were capable of catechetick inſtruction, but not fit for underſtanding harder matters; and that none but ſuch *infants* and *little children* were ever, in the firſt and ſecond century, made partakers of baptiſm. This moſt important diſcovery I ſoon communicated to the world, in this paper; which both biſhop *Hoadly* and Dr. *Clarke* greatly approved; but ſtill went on in the ordinary practice, notwithſtanding. I ſent this paper alſo, by an intimate friend, Mr. *Haines*, to Sir *Iſaac Newton*, and deſired to know his opinion: the anſwer returned was this, that they both had diſcovered the ſame before: nay, I afterward found that Sir *Iſaac Newton* was ſo hearty for the baptiſts, as well as for the *Euſebians* or *Arians*, that he ſometimes ſuſpected theſe two were the *two witneſſes* in the *Revelation*. See *Authent. Rec.* part II. page 1075.

I now deſire my readers to divert a little from my books of learning, to take my account at large of what highly concerned me and my family, with relation to Dr. *Thomas Turner*'s great benefaction to the corporation for relief of poor widows and children of clergymen: which, tho' it were not written and dedicated to the governors and benefactors of the corporation, 'till *May* 1731, when my family was in diſtreſs; yet does it really belong to this year 1712, when I ſent the letter therein contained to Dr. *Turner*.

Mr.

Mr. Whiſton's *Account of Part of Dr.* Thomas Turner's *great Benefaction to the* Corporation for the Relief of poor Widows and Children of Clergymen;

Humbly dedicated to the Governors and Benefactors of that Corporation.

IT cannot be unknown to many of this ſociety, that Dr. *Thomas Turner*, brother to Dr. *Francis Turner*, late biſhop of *Ely*, continued preſident of *Corpus Chriſti College* in *Oxford*, a place of about 300 *l. per Annum*, for about 12 years: that he continued alſo rector of *Tharfield*, near *Royſton*; a living of near 300 *l. per Annum*, for about the ſame twelve years: and that he continued alſo prebendary of *Ely*; which prebend was worth about 120 *l. per Annum*, for the ſame time, I mean all theſe after the impoſition of the abjuration oath, *A. D.* 1702. It cannot alſo but be well known to this ſociety in general, that the ſame Dr. *Turner* gave to them by will, not much leſs than 20,000 *l.* as the inſcription on his noble monument, at *Nine Churches*, *Northamptonſhire*, which I myſelf have ſeen, fully informs us. But then, by what means, upon what occaſion, and by whoſe loſs he came to die poſſeſs'd of ſuch good preferments, and was able to become ſo great a benefactor to the ſociety, I ſuppoſe, but very few of its members do at all know; nor do they probably in the leaſt imagine that one, comparatively ſo poor and ſo low in the world as myſelf, has been in no ſmall meaſure, the perſon who occaſion'd and enabled him to be ſo great a benefactor: which yet is the certain truth; although I have not hitherto inſiſted on any equitable right for my family on that account: nor indeed had I now done it, had I not been

conſtrained by almoſt a conſtant ſeries of diſappointments elſewhere, in providing a competent maintenance for ſome of them; yet is it by no means improper for me to addreſs myſelf on behalf of my children to this ſociety; which was inſtituted for the widows and children of clergymen only; becauſe they all bear the neareſt relation to the clergy; and are both by the father's and mother's ſide, the children, the grand children, and the great grand children of *Clergymen*; if that may deſerve any conſideration with this ſociety.

Be pleaſed therefore to know, that upon the impoſition of the *Abjuration Oath*, *A. D.* 1702, to be taken by all in church preferments, by *Aug.* 1, on penalty of voiding all ſuch preferments, Dr. *Turner* went down from *London* to *Oxford*, *July* 28th, *with a reſolution not to take the oath, but to quit all his preferments:* that the A. B. of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Tenniſon*, thereupon wrote immediate word of ſuch his reſolution, to the Bp. of *Ely*, Dr. *Patrick*; that ſo he might have time to think of a proper ſucceſſor to his prebend of *Ely:* that Bp. *Patrick* did, in the moſt kind, but unexpected manner, immediately, with his own hand, write to me to *Cambridge*, to come to *Ely*, to take that prebend: and that accordingly I did then go to *Ely*, with a full expectation of returning back a prebendary of that church. But as ſoon as I came thither, I met the biſhop with a ſecond letter to me in his hand upon that ſubject; which letter will fully prove the truth of my narration hitherto. And tho' I cannot yet find the firſt letter, this which I have now by me, will, of itſelf, abundantly ſupply the other's place alſo. It was in theſe words.

Ely,

Ely, *Aug.* 18, 1702.

Good Sir,

HAVING the intelligence which I ſent you about Dr. *Turner*, from no leſs perſon than his grace the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, I thought it might be relied on; for he ſaid he had it from good hands. But hearing it contradicted, I wrote to his grace, to know whether there were any certainty in it, and by the laſt poſt received an anſwer, that he doth not know what to believe, reports are ſo various. Certain it is, he went on the 28th of *July* from *London*, with a reſolution not to take the oath, but quit all his preferments: and yet, on the 3d of *Auguſt*, one of my acquaintance came through *Oxford*, lay there all night, and dined with the head of a houſe next day, and was with ſeveral others, but heard not one word of his laying down his preſidentſhip, as was reported. This he told me laſt week: and on *Sunday* I ſaw a letter to one in this town, from a fellow of his college, who ſays, he ſaw their preſident, Dr. *Turner*, at prayers that day in the chapel, which was the twelfth inſtant, which makes me think he changed his mind when he was gone from *London*; and hath qualified himſelf to keep his preferments: however it be, I intended very ſincerely towards you, who may look upon it as a token of my future kindneſs, if it be in my power.

Yours,

Sy. Eliens.

But then, not long after I was returned from *Ely* to *Cambridge*, a very good friend of mine, Mr. *Lunn*, by name, lately archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, who had been made acquainted with the impoſition

that Dr. *Turner* had put upon the world, and upon the bishop of *Ely* in particular; and after what an unwonted manner I had lost my preferment; came and told me, "that if he had as good a promise, "from the bishop of *Ely*, as I had, he would soon "be a prebendary there; that Dr. *Turner* had not "taken the oath: but upon advice that *a blot was* "*no blot till it was hit*, he acted as if he had taken "it; and so retain'd his preferments without taken "it at all:" upon this information I had great debates with myself; the result of which was, that I would enquire after Dr. *Turner*'s character; and if I found it a bad one, I would not scruple to discover the grand secret, and endeavour to dispossess him, and recover my prebend; but if it proved a good one, I would not do so, but content myself with my present state, and trust the good providence of God to make some farther provision for me and my family, which was then strait enough, in some other way, to me more unexceptionable. Upon which enquiry, finding that the doctor's character was not only in general a good one, but that he was one of the greatest exemplars and promoters of learning, virtue, and good discipline in the university of *Oxford*, I resolved to keep that grand piece of knowledge secret; and accordingly did so; and suffered him all along to enjoy all his preferments, without the least molestation: and this notwithstanding the additional confirmation I some time afterwards had, of his not having taken the oath, from both Sir *Peter King*, afterward lord chancellor; and Dr. *Rundle*, afterward bishop *Rundle*; who themselves knew Dr. *Turner*'s case: to whom I then communicated my knowledge of it also, and to no other persons living. However, about ten years after, when my banishment from the university of *Cambridge* had brought my affairs low, and reduc'd me to seek the greatest part of my daily bread

bread in the wide world, I thought proper to let Dr. *Turner* know the circumſtances I was in, and to inform him what expectations I had then to partake of his chriſtian compaſſion and charity; which I did by the following letter.

Lower End of *Croſs-Street*,
Hatton-Garden, October 25, 1712.

Hon. Sir,

THO' I am not perſonally known to you, yet are your circumſtances and mine ſuch, as make it not improper for me to addreſs myſelf to you. 'Tis not impoſſible but you may have heard, that ſome years ago, when the oath of abjuration was impos'd, you declar'd yourſelf intirely diſſatisfied therewith; and when by conſequence your prebend of *Ely* would have been void by your refuſal of that oath, I was the perſon on whom biſhop *Patrick* intended to beſtow it: as accordingly his lordſhip was pleaſed to write to me, to come to *Ely* to take it; which I did accordingly. At which time, news was come, that you did not openly refuſe the oath, nor quit any preferment thereupon; and ſo that matter was over for the preſent. Upon this, tho' I was pretty authentickly inform'd, that you had never taken that abjuration oath; (which I have ſince heard confirm'd from more hands than one, and thoſe ſuch as I believe may be depended on;) and tho' it was in my power to have made full enquiry, and thereupon to have vacated your preferments, and to have ſucceeded to one of them, yet would I not then nor ſince do it, and that chiefly on account of that very good character which I heard of you, and which has been all along confirm'd to me: and becauſe I was very unwilling to enjoy any advantage, which muſt ariſe from a ſort of proſecution or perſecution of a very good man, who, out of a real principle of conſcience, was unwilling legally to quality himſelf for his preferments, which I abhor'd

to do. And you will eaſily ſuppoſe, that I have been as ſecret in this matter ſince, as in biſhop *Patrick*'s days. Now this being the caſe, that you, by my ſilence, enjoy great advantages and preferments, while I am under baniſhment and proſecution, as to what ſmall place and profits I enjoy'd, and am indeed forc'd to be beholden to the generoſity of ſome good friends for part of my ſupport; I think it very reaſonable to inform you of this matter, and of the foregoing circumſtances; and to hint to you my expectations from you: for ſince I loſt a very good preferment by my regard to your conſcience, which accordingly you ſtill enjoy, I think you cannot excuſe yourſelf from affording me ſome conſiderable aſſiſtance, now I am, on the like account of conſcience, depriv'd at leaſt of the preſent advantage and income of that ſmall imployment or preferment which I had in the univerſity. And I do verily believe I have given the world as convincing evidence, that what I have done, is truly and really from that honeſt principle, as you can eaſily give that your avoidance of the abjuration oath was ſo. I heartily wiſh that all doubtful oaths, teſts, and ſubſcriptions were taken away; and that all chriſtians might unite to enquire after, and obey only thoſe doctrines, laws, and diſcipline, which were originally eſtabliſhed by Chriſt and his apoſtles. But, in the mean time, 'tis fit that all really good men, who are forced to undergo any ſort of difficulties on account of conſcience, be willing to aſſiſt and ſupport each other in all their neceſſities which ariſe on that account: Which is all that is deſired and expected by

Your very humble and obedient Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

And here the ſociety may pleaſe to obſerve, that altho' this letter produced not the leaſt effect in Dr. *Turner*, to my advantage, nor did I ever receive any ſort of anſwer to it, yet was I willing to ſuppoſe

poſe that it was ſtill a ſcruple of conſcience, and an opinion eaſily gone into, by perſons of his education and notions, that "ſupporting me would be "ſupporting an heretick, and encouraging his he-"reſy againſt the church;" which prevented the effects of his compaſſion and charity towards me: ſo that I ſtill kept the grand ſecret to myſelf, not only during the life of biſhop *Patrick*, who had promiſed the prebend to me; but alſo during the life of my own patron biſhop *More*, till Dr. *Turner*'s own death: after which the diſcovery could void none of his preferments. And I muſt needs ſay, that notwithſtanding Dr. *Turner*'s hardſhip to me in refuſing me any aſſiſtance, and the many other hardſhips I have elſewhere met with in my temporal affairs, yet have I been ſo far from repenting of my procedure, with regard to Dr. *Turner*, that I have ever taken true pleaſure and ſatisfaction in it; and in particular, have ever rejoic'd that I have thereby been a kind of joint benefactor with him, to ſuch clergymens widows, and orphans, and their families, as are in greater diſtreſs than myſelf and my own family have hitherto been. However, tho' I am and have long been myſelf, by principles of conſcience, render'd incapable of any preferments among my brethren of the clergy, in the preſent circumſtances of the church, and very well ſatisfied without them; yet ought I not to neglect any prudent care of making proviſion for thoſe my children, who being in a manner, together with their father, incapable of ſuch preferments, yet have rendred themſelves, I believe, neither unworthy of, nor unfit for other employments, and thoſe even relating to the ſacred function; I mean, to both learning and religion; which ſort of employments, therefore, they are, which I humbly hope for of this ſociety, either conſidered as ſuch here, or in their private capacity and intereſt elſewhere. And

ſince

ſince I think, on a very moderate computation, and without reckoning intereſt, it may well be ſuppos'd, that Dr. *Turner* was, and this ſociety is, 5000 *l. richer*, and myſelf 1200 *l. poorer* by my behaviour towards him, I may juſtly eſteem myſelf, *per accidens*, a benefactor to this charitable ſociety in the *former*, and ſomewhat more than *per accidens*, a benefactor in the *latter* ſum. Which circumſtances are hereby humbly offered to the conſideration of this ſociety.

London, *May* 13, 1731.

WILL. WHISTON.

N. B. When the ſociety were informed of this matter, it was not denied but I had an equitable claim to ſome aſſiſtance for my family; but no opportunity offering, I was obliged to ſit down contented without it.

In this year alſo, I publiſhed *Propoſals for erecting Societies for promoting Primitive Chriſtianity*, and gave them away in great numbers, *gratis*, in half a ſheet; which I ſhall reprint at the end of theſe *Memoirs*, with the like intention of reviving that ſociety.

N. B. Theſe propoſals were afterwards reprinted, and inſerted at the end of the ſmall edition of the four volumes of *Primitive Chriſtianity Reviv'd.* But becauſe they were a few years afterward carefully revis'd, abridg'd, and improv'd, at the firſt ſetting up of ſuch a ſociety at my houſe, of which preſently. This firſt copy is to be looked on as not ſo perfect, as the other: tho' I would not have it omitted in any future editions of the book beforementioned: the perfect copy is already printed in my *Life of Dr.* Clarke.

About

About the ſame year, 1712, I printed fifty propoſals, for printing a cheap and correct *Edition of all the Primitive Fathers*, before the council of *Nice*; ending with Euſebius's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, in twelve volumes: and communicated the ſame to many of my learned friends, for their improvements and corrections. But not meeting with encouragement then, the deſign dropt. However, it was about 1723 reviv'd, with great improvements, and ſome hopes of ſucceſs, that ſuch an intire ſet might be gotten into all the pariſhes of *Great-Britain*, till Mr. *Collins*, the author of *Grounds and Reaſons*, quite diverted mine and others thoughts another way. Which amended propoſals are by me inſerted into the ſixth volume of my *Sacred Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament*, now publiſhed, Page 609——613.

In theſe two years, 1711, and 1712, my affairs were before the convocation, as the hiſtory of that convocation, ſo far as I was concerned, already mentioned, will ſhew. What I would here add, is, ſomewhat about this matter in biſhop *Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times*; which I eſteem a moſt authentick, and a moſt valuable hiſtory: [eſpecially the concluſion, which is hardly parallelled in any modern compoſition that I have ever met with.] Now as to this biſhop's account of my affairs, they nearly agree with my own, as to the facts; and ſo they need not here be repeated. But his character of me, and his opinion of the cenſures of ſuch convocations, cannot be omitted. They are in theſe words, on theſe two years, and did me great ſervice among his friends ever after.

" 1711, An incident happened that diverted the " thoughts of the convocation to another matter. " Mr. *Whiſton*, the profeſſor of mathematicks in " *Cambridge*, a learned man, of a ſober and ex- " emplary life, but much ſet on hunting for para-

" doxes,

" doxes, fell on the reviving the *Arian* hereſy, " tho' he pretended to differ from *Arius* in ſeveral " particulars; yet, upon the main, he was partly " *Apolinariſt*, partly *Arian*. For he thought the " *Nous* or *Word* was all the ſoul that acted in our " Saviour's body. He found his notions favoured " by the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*; ſo he reckon'd " them a part, and the chief part of the canon of " the ſcriptures. For theſe tenets he was cenſured " at *Cambridge*, and expelled the univerſity. Upon " that he wrote a vindication of himſelf, and his " doctrine, and dedicated it to the convocation; " promiſing a larger work on theſe ſubjects. ——

" At the convocation meeting in winter, no an- " ſwer came from the queen; and two biſhops " were ſent to aſk it, but ſhe could not tell what " was become of the paper which the archbiſhop " had ſent her; ſo a new extract of the cenſure " was again ſent to her; but ſhe has not thought fit " to ſend an anſwer to it: ſo *Whiſton*'s affair ſleeps; " tho' he has publiſhed a large work in four vo- " lumes in 8vo. juſtifying his doctrine, and main- " taining the canonicalneſs of the *Apoſtolical Conſti-* " *tutions*; preferring their authority not only to the " epiſtles, but even to the goſpels. In this laſt I do " not find he has made any proſelytes, tho' he has " ſet himſelf much to ſupport that paradox.

" 1712, The cenſure that was paſs'd on *Whiſton*'s " book in the former ſeſſions had been laid before " the queen in due form, for her approbation; but " at the opening of this ſeſſions in *December*, the " biſhops finding that no return was come from the " throne in that matter, ſent two of their Number " to receive her majeſty's pleaſure in it; the arch- " biſhop being ſo ill of the gout, that he came not " among us all that winter. The queen had put " the cenſure into the hands of ſome of her Mini- " ſters, but could not remember to whom ſhe gave " it;

" it; ſo a new extract was ſent to her; and ſhe ſaid, " ſhe would ſend her pleaſure upon it very ſpeedi- " ly; but none came during the ſeſſion; ſo all fu- " ture proceedings againſt him were ſtopped, ſince " the queen did not confirm the ſtep that we had " made. This was not unacceptable to ſome of us, " and to myſelf in particular. I was gone into " my dioceſe when that cenſure was paſſed. And " I have ever thought, that the true intereſt of the " chriſtian religion was beſt conſulted, when nice " diſputing about myſteries was laid aſide and for- " gotten."

Since I have here mentioned biſhop *Burnet*, as unwilling to cenſure good men that differ from the publick, it will not be amiſs if I here farther produce another memorable paſſage relating to him, and not foreign to this hiſtory. It is taken out of his life, written by his ſon, now Mr. Juſtice *Burnet*. He was much careſs'd and eſteemed by the principal men of *Geneva*, [about 1686.] He ſaw they inſiſted ſtrongly upon their *conſent of doctrine:* [this is a formulary, commonly known by the name of the *Conſenſus*.] Which they required all thoſe to ſubſcribe, who were admitted into orders. He alſo employed all the eloquence he was maſter of, and all the credit he had acquired amongſt them, to obtain an alteration of this practice. He repreſented to them the folly and ill conſequence of ſuch ſubſcriptions; whereby the honeſteſt and worthieſt men were frequently reduc'd to the neceſſities of quitting their native country, and ſeeking a ſubſiſtance elſewhere: whilſt others, of leſs virtue, were induced to ſubmit, and comply againſt their conſcience, and even begin their miniſtry with mental equivocations. The warmth with which he expreſs'd himſelf on this head was ſuch, and ſuch was the weight of his character, that the clergy of *Geneva*, were afterward releaſed from theſe ſubſcriptions,

ſcriptions, and only left ſubject to puniſhment or cenſure, in caſe of writing or preaching againſt the eſtabliſhed doctrine.

I ſhall add farther, that ſo much is to be ſaid for the honour of our diſſenters here, that when, *A. D.* 1719, the moſt remarkable ſynod or aſſembly their miniſters have had theſe many years, met, and that on this queſtion alſo, the majority openly rejected all ſuch unſcriptural impoſitions. And I have ſeen a liſt of ſeventy-three of thoſe miniſters, who ſign'd their advices to the people of *Exeter*, (for whoſe ſake the aſſembly was called,) without inſiſting on any unſcriptural declarations: as alſo the other of ſixty-nine, who ſigned to the contrary. So that, to uſe the words of the late excellent maſter of the rolls, Sir *Joſeph Jekyl*, on this occaſion, *The Bible carried it by four.*

N. B. This I look upon as the firſt example of a body of chriſtians publick declaration for chriſtian liberty in matters of religion.

The general baptiſts had alſo a very great meeting in *London*, about 1730, where the number were about 120, who alſo came in a manner univerſally into the ſame determination, of not making any human explications neceſſary to chriſtian communion.

In the year 1712, I publiſhed my *Primitive Chriſtianity Reviv'd*, all in one volume, in *Engliſh* alone; containing,

Part I. *The larger Epiſtles of St.* Ignatius.
II. *The Apoſtolical Conſtitutions.*
III. *An Eſſay on thoſe Conſtitutions.*
IV. *An Account of the Primitive Faith, concerning the Trinity and Incarnation.*

To which are ſubjoined, *The Propoſals for Societies*, and *Primitive Infant-Baptiſm Reviv'd*, already mentioned.

About

About the ſame year, 1712, I publiſhed *A Scheme of the Solar Syſtem*, with the orbits of 21 comets; in a large ſheet of paper, engraved on copper, by Mr. *Senex*. Price 2 *s.* 6 *d.* Which *Scheme* has been of great reputation and advantage among the curious ever ſince.

N. B. At the orbit of the comet, No. 22; (for tho' they proved to be but 21 at the laſt, yet becauſe one of them appear'd to have come round three times, and ſo is here eſteemed three diſtinct comets; and another twice, and ſo is eſteemed two comets; they appear as 24 upon the ſcheme.) Add ☊ for the place of the aſcending node; and change the the order of writing on that orbit, with the length of the tail, from one leg of the orbit to the other, that it may be *direct* in the ſcheme, as it was in the heavens. See alſo *The Aſtronomical Principles of Religion*, page 24, 25, for the periods of one or two more of the comets, which have been diſcovered ſince I publiſhed this *Solar Syſtem*.

At the end of this year, 1712, I printed *Dr.* Mather's *Old Paths Reſtor'd*, which had been printed the year before at *Boſton* in *New-England*; and was an extract of *Calviniſtical* papers, formerly by him publiſh'd, with a preface of my own; Price 3*d.* I wiſh our preſent *Calviniſts* would read that preface.

In the beginning of the next year, 1712-13, I publiſhed, *Reflections on a Pamphlet of Mr.* Anthony Collins, intitled, *A Diſcourſe of Free-thinking*, 8vo. Price 8 *d.*

N. B. I have been informed, that when biſhop *Burnet* had read this paper of mine, he liked it ſo well, that he ſaid, "For its ſake he forgave me all "my hereſy."

At the end of *March*, 1713, I publiſhed *Synchroniſmorum Apocalypticorum Series*, or, *An Epitome of*

of my Eſſay on the Revelation of St. John, in an open half ſheet of paper, price 6*d*.. But it being much the ſame with that in my *Eſſay on the Revelation* itſelf, formerly publiſh'd, and was afterward corrected alſo in my *Literal Accompliſhment of Scripture Prophecies*, and again, in the 2d edition of my *Eſſay on the Revelation*, this may well be drop'd, and not reprinted.

April 23d, the ſame year, 1713, I ſent a letter to Dr. *Sacheverel*, which I afterwards printed in an half ſheet of paper : and ſtill later, I reprinted it among the papers relating to the court of *Delegates*, of which hereafter.

The ſame year, 1713, I publiſh'd *Three Eſſays*, 8vo. Price 4*s*. 6*d*. containing,

I. *The Council of* Nice, *vindicated from the* Athanaſian *hereſy*.

II. *A Collection of ancient Monuments, relating to the Trinity and Incarnation, and to the Hiſtory of the* IVth. *Century of the Church*.

III. *The Liturgy of the Church of* England, *reduc'd nearer to the primitive ſtandard*.

N. B. This is that *Liturgy*, which I have ever ſince made uſe of, at *Tunbridge* and *London* ; and in particular, when a few ſelect perſons of us, that were no *Athanaſians*, and chiefly on *Athanaſian* creed days, formerly met together for publick worſhip, for ſome years at my houſe. It contains alſo the ſame form of baptiſm I ever made uſe of, when I baptized my grand-children and a few others, after they were come to years of diſcretion, and had been carefully inſtructed in the principles of chriſtianity : when it is reprinted it ſhould be done with a very few corrections, as they ſtand in my own copy.

In *September* the ſame year, 1713, I publiſhed *The Chriſtian's Rule of Faith* ; or, *A Table of the moſt ancient*

ancient Creeds: engraved in copper, by Mr. *Senex*, in one large ſheet. *Price* 1 *s.*

N. B. The words of *Rufinus*'s verſion, of *Origen*'s account of the *Apoſtolical Preaching*, concerning the Holy Ghoſt, *honore & dignitate patri ac filio ſociatum*; *who is joined to the Father and Son in honour and dignity*, are omitted in this table; as evidently *Rufinus*'s addition. See the *Athanaſian* confeſſions at the end of my *Reply to the Earl of* Nottingham.

In *November*, the ſame year, 1713, I publiſhed *Reaſons for not proceeding againſt Mr.* Whiſton *by the Court of Delegates.* In a letter to Dr. *Pelling*, under the name of a *Lover of Truth and true Religion.* This was afterwards reprinted under my own name, and inſerted into the papers belonging to that court of delegates: of which hereafter.

Now it may be worth our while to obſerve here, ſome things very remarkable as to this court of delegates. The *firſt* is with relation to Mr. Baron *Price*, who was one of them, and one of the beſt reputation among them, and eſteemed a great lover of the *Church of England* alſo. Now this Mr. Baron *Price* went the circuit in the year 1714, to *Stafford* in particular, when Mr. *Turton*, the ſon of judge *Turton*, was high-ſheriff; and my great friend Mr. *John Lawrence* went with him to *Stafford* as his chaplain, when I alſo went along with them. At this aſſizes, the baron, in giving his charge to the grand jury, exhorted them to preſent all ſuch as blaſphemed or condemned the church's doctrine of the *Trinity:* which charge I heard myſelf to my great diſſatisfaction. Upon this, the high-ſheriff afterward told the baron that I was in court, and ſhould naturally ſuppoſe this part of his charge levell'd againſt me in particular. The baron reply'd, that "He meant no ſuch

" thing; that it was only his uſual form: nay, " that I was the honeſteſt man in the world, and " that he was then reading my works:" which declaration agrees with that I heard him ſay publickly, in the court of delegates, when the biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Trelawny*, another of the delegates, was preſſing the judges to haſten their determinations what was *legal Hereſy* only: while, the other biſhops and himſelf, as he pretended, well knew what was Hereſy by the *New Teſtament*, and the *three firſt Centuries* already: the baron reply'd, that they wanted more light in that matter, [by a court of adjuncts:] and that for himſelf, he ſaid to the biſhop, " My lord, I will not take hereſy upon " my ſhoulders, nor upon my conſcience!" At which anſwer, the biſhop expreſs'd his great diſſatisfaction. It may alſo deſerve to be noted, how uneaſy Mr. juſtice *Tracey*, another of thoſe delegates, with whom I had ſome acquaintance before, was at this court, as ſtill whiſpering Sir *Peter King*, who was one of my counſel, to move for a prohibition, that they might get rid of it. It may not withal be amiſs to make mention of his grace the duke of *Newcaſtle*, my old friend and patron, upon this occaſion; who gave me ten guineas to fee Mr. *Nich. Lechmere*, with leave to keep thoſe ten guineas to myſelf, if he would not accept of them; and of Mr. *Lechmere* himſelf, who, as he would not take a fee of me, ſo did he give me the beſt advice in the world, as I thought, and what I highly approv'd of, *gratis*; *viz.* Not to truſt to an extempore defence, but to write it down, to print it, to read it in open court, to publiſh it the next day; and that then they would move for a prohibition: which advice I followed as far as was neceſſary: for the then lord chief juſtice *Dod*, one of the delegates, tho' greatly teiz'd to appoint a day for farther proceedings by the biſhop of *Wincheſter*,

cheſter, was ſo uneaſy at his ſolicitations, that, at length, he return'd him this ſhort anſwer, that *he would not be a judge about hereſy*: which put an end to the meetings of that court, till the act of grace 1715, which pardoned all ſuch pretended hereſy whatſoever.

N. B. It may not be amiſs to relate here, ſome farther particular facts in the courſe of this proſecution: one is this, that when Mr. *Alexander*, the proſecutor's proctor, came once to Dr. *Paul*, one of my advocates, (and one, by the way, that never took a ſingle fee of me during the intire proſecution, as the other, Dr. *Penrice*, never took any more than one retaining guinea) when I was with him, and begg'd my pardon, and told me, how my aſſerting that to be primitive chriſtianity, which was then eſteemed the groſſeſt hereſy, made their hair ſtand an End. I replied, "Mr. *Alexander*, your party enter into points which they "know little of, but which I know to the bottom. They charge me with twelve articles of "hereſy, meaning the *Arian* hereſy, as it was "condemned at the council of *Nice*. Now if I could "have the ſame juſtice done me in this court, which "you aim to do in other caſes, which I know I cannot have; (for if you ſhould clear me, you would "be eſteem'd hereticks yourſelves) I would put "the matter upon this Iſſue, that if any one of thoſe "twelve articles, or any one clauſe in any of thoſe "twelve articles, be any part of the *Arian* hereſy, as "it was condemned at the council of *Nice*, I will be "contented to be burnt in *Smithfield*, and all my "papers with me." Another time, when I came to the ſame advocate Dr. *Paul*, he told me, he had learned that the deſign was to haſten on the proſecution to a determination or ſentence, ſo very ſoon after the *Chriſtmas* holydays 1714, as if poſſible

to get all over before the courts were open in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; that I might be debarr'd the advantage of moving there for a prohibition. And that they had ſent for the biſhop of *Bath and Wells*, Bp. *Hooper*, the moſt learned of the biſhops among my delegates, accordingly. To which the biſhop's anſwer was, that he would not come up at that time. He alſo, as I have been inform'd, ſaid, he could go ſo far with the court againſt me, as to excommunication. (As he once ſent orders to the *Bath*, to have me denied the communion there, which I patiently ſubmitted to) but he could not conſent to the ſending me to priſon; (which was yet the natural reſult in the courſe of our law, of ſuch excommunication) nor was it any other than he, as I have heard, who propoſed the adjournment of the court *ſine die*, and, perhaps, with ſome inclination that it might meet no more: as, in reality, it did not meet any more at all. Dr. *Paul* alſo informed me, that he had heard the intention of ſome of my enemies was to get me once into priſon, and then to give out I was diſordered, and under that pretence to keep my wife, children, and friends from me; with the additional prohibition of pen, ink, and paper. To ſuch a degree of fear were they driven, and ſo little did they expect to ſtop the progreſs of my doctrine by fair reaſoning and examination.

It might be about this year, 1713, that certain deputies from the church of *England* congregation at *New England* arrived here, to aſk, in a ſerious manner, the advice of our convocation, which, in the ſimplicity of their hearts, they thought to be in earneſt for primitive chriſtianity, about this queſtion, whether the *waſhing the diſciples feet*, including that additional command, *I have given you an example that ye ſhould do as I have done to you*, John

John xiii. 4——15, does not imply that to be a chriſtian ſacrament, obligatory ſtill under the goſpel, as well as Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper: I know not whether the convocation was then ſitting, but never heard the queſtion was either then or afterward laid before them; tho' it was a point much fitter for their enquiry than thoſe which of late they have been engaged in. One or two of theſe deputies came to Dr. *Smalridge*, and to me. We both agreed, that it was not ſo intended; no intimation appearing that the apoſtles or primitive chriſtians ſo underſtood this command; nor ever practiſed accordingly: As was yet moſt frequent and undeniable in the caſe of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper. I alſo added, that in the apoſtolical conſtitutions or canons, the only compleat repoſitory of the laws of the goſpel, no ſuch appointment any where appears.

During the meetings of the court of delegates about me, and on the very day they ſolemnly met, and determined that I muſt anſwer to this accuſation of hereſy; when I was in the greateſt danger that ever I was in through my whole life; I was ſo little concern'd at what they were doing with me, that I then firſt publiſhed, and preſented to ſeveral of my judges, inſtead of a petition for mercy, as at firſt they ſuppoſed it to be, a ſingle ſheet, wet from the preſs, intituled, *The Cauſe of the Deluge demonſtrated.* It was afterward added to the later editions of my *New Theory.* Page 186—197. It was alſo printed in the firſt edition of my *Aſtronomical Principles of Religion*; of which preſently.

And now, upon occaſion of this proſecution againſt myſelf, it may not be amiſs to give ſome account of the character and proſecution of Mr. *Woolſton*, fellow of *Sidney-College* in *Cambridge*, who for ſome time made a great noiſe in the world. But obſerve, this Mr. *Woolſton* has nothing to do with that great and learned, and excellent author of

The Religion of Nature Delineated, Mr. *Wollaſton*, tho' he were of the ſame college, and almoſt of the ſame name: which work I have heard the late queen ſay ſhe had read over three times; and I can ſay that I have done the ſame four times myſelf, on account of its uncommon worth. However the other perſon, or Mr. *Woolſton*, was of the year above me, tho' not of the ſame college: he was, in his younger days, a clergyman of very good reputation, a ſcholar, and well eſteem'd as a preacher, charitable to the poor, and beloved by all good men that knew him. Now it happened that after ſome time he moſt unfortunately fell into *Origen*'s allegorical works; and poring hard upon them, without communicating his ſtudies to any body, he became ſo fanciful in that matter, that he thought the allegorical way of interpretation of the ſcriptures of the *Old Teſtament*, had been unjuſtly neglected by the moderns; and that it might be uſeful for an additional proof of the truth of chriſtianity: inſomuch that he preached this doctrine firſt in the college chapel, to the great ſurprize of his audience; tho' his intentions being known to be good, and his perſon beloved, no diſcouragement was ſhewed him there. After which he ventured to preach the ſame doctrine in ſome ſermons before the whole univerſity, at St. *Mary*'s; (one of which I remember to have heard myſelf) and printed them, under the title of *The Old Apology Reviv'd*. Upon this publication by preaching and printing, his notions appeared to be ſo wild, that a report went about that he was under a diſorder of mind. Which when he heard, inſtead of that applauſe he thought he had deſerv'd by retrieving a long-forgotten argument for the truth of chriſtianity, he grew really diſorder'd, and, as I have been inform'd, he was accordingly confined for a long time; after which, tho' his notions were eſteem'd in part the

effect

effect of ſome ſuch diſorder, yet did he regain his liberty. When he found himſelf pretty well, as he thought, he fell a writing to great men, and to his old friends; and inſiſted on the truth of his notions, and pretended that the reports of his diſorders aroſe only from the inability the learned were under to confute them. Nay, at length, he wrote ſeveral pamphlets to prove, that the following the literal ſenſe of the *Old Teſtament* was no better than *Antichriſtianiſm*, tho', in the mean time, he ſometimes inſinuated, that *Jeſus Chriſt*'s own miracles were no other than allegorical miracles, and not real facts, and expoſed thoſe miracles, taken in the literal ſenſe, after ſuch a manner, and with ſuch a mixture of wit and ſcoffing, as if he in earneſt intended to abuſe and oppoſe the chriſtian religion. Which deſign, however, he utterly denyed; and ſeemed to wonder that any ſhould impute ſuch a thing to him; and about the ſame time he wrote another pamphlet againſt ſome of the unbelievers, which was by no means a contemptible one. Things being in this ſtate, and the unbelievers thinking to make uſe of his folly to lay a blot upon chriſtianity, encouraged him to go on; bought his pamphlets at an high price, and ſent them abroad, as far as the *Weſt-Indies*, to do miſchief there.

Now during the time when the college and his friends thought his caſe to be pitiable, and owing in part to a bodily diſtemper, and, upon that account, the college allowed him the revenues of his fellowſhip for his ſupport; he came of his own accord to the college, to ſhew that he was not under any diſorder. Whereupon he was called to reſidence, according to the college ſtatutes, which allow to the fellows, if in health, but eighty days abſence in the year. But he abſolutely refuſed to reſide, and ſo loſt his fellowſhip: tho' I did all I could to ſave it for him, by writing to the college on his behalf.

But the clamor ran ſo high againſt him there, that no interceſſion could prevail for him.

After this, the government fell upon him, and had him indicted in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, for blaſphemy and profaneneſs. At which time I went to Sir *Philip York*, the then attorney-general, but now lord chancellor, and gave him an account of poor Mr. *Woolſton*, and how he came into his allegorical notions: and told him, that their common lawyers would not know what ſuch an allegorical cauſe could mean; offering to come myſelf into the court, and explain it to them, in caſe they proceeded: but ſtill rather deſiring they would not proceed any farther againſt him. He promiſed he would not proceed, unleſs the then ſecretary of ſtate, the lord *Townſhend*, ſent him an order ſo to do. I then went to Dr. *Clarke*, to perſuade him to go with me to the lord *Townſhend*; but he refuſed; alledging that the report would then go abroad, that the king ſupported blaſphemy. However, no farther progreſs was made in Mr. *Woolſton*'s trial, till he had publiſhed another pamphlet, againſt our Saviour's miracles, and that with ſuch reproachful words, that tho' I pitied his caſe, and looked upon it as partly a diſorder of mind, I did not think it became me to be farther concerned for him in any publick manner, tho' he had dedicated a pamphlet to me, and came himſelf to me. I told him, that had not my reputation, as a firm believer of the chriſtian religion, been very good, he had done me great harm by his dedication. I farther told him, that what he now aſſerted ſeemed to me nearer to the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, than what had ever been aſſerted by any ſince the firſt times of the goſpel. I withall aſked him, why he did not aſſert that our Saviour was no more than an *allegorical perſon*, ſince then he might naturally work *allegorical miracles?* He replyed no: There

There was ſuch a perſon as *Jeſus Chriſt*. So I took my final leave of him, and prayed God to forgive him. At length the court proceeded againſt him to a fine and impriſonment. In ſhort, he ſeemed to me to have ſo confounded himſelf with his allegories, and ſo pleaſed himſelf when he found one gentleman, Mr. *Anthony Collins*, to affirm nearly as he did, tho' with a quite different deſign, that *Jeſus Chriſt* dealt in allegorical prohecies, though not in allegorical miracles; that before he died he ſeems hardly to have known himſelf whether he really believed the chriſtian religion or not.

This is a true account of this unhappy man, with his unhappy allegories: and ought to be a caution to all ſuch as ſtudy the original books of our religion, how they follow *Philo* and *Origen*, and the like allegoriſts, of which hardly the leaſt traces appear among either the *Jewiſh* or *Gentile* chriſtians, till after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; which was thirty-eight years after the death of our Saviour: and to which the fatal introduction of the impure book of *Canticles* into the canon of the *Old Teſtament*, ſoon after that time, may moſt probably be aſcribed.

On *Feb.* 21, 1714, being Lord's-Day, I baptized Mr. *John* and Mrs. *Elizabeth Shelſwell*, with the trine immerſion, *&c.* according to the form publiſhed by myſelf in the forementioned *Liturgy of the Church of* England, *reduc'd nearer to the Primitive Standard*; and adminiſter'd to them both Confirmation and the Euchariſt; about ſeventeen communicants preſent.

Not long afterward, the ſame year, 1714, Mr. *Haukſbee* and myſelf publiſhed *A Courſe of Mechanical, Optical, Hydroſtatical, and Pneumatical Experiments*, as performed by us; in twenty copper plates, briefly explained. This has been ſeveral times printed, and belongs to the courſe itſelf. 4to. Price 5*s.*

The

The ſame year, 1714, Mr. *Humphrey Ditton* and myſelf publiſhed, *A new Method of Diſcovering the Longitude* by ſignals. 8vo. The ſecond edition is far the moſt compleat; and was printed the next year, 1715. Price 2 *s.*

In this laſt year, 1715, I publiſhed *A Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles*, with the genuine oracles themſelves, and the ancient citations from them, in their originals, and in *Engliſh:* beſides a few brief notes. 8vo. Price 2 *s.*

N. B. On *Eaſter-Day*, 1715, we began to have a ſolemn aſſembly for worſhip, and the Euchariſt, at my houſe in *Croſs-Street*, *Hatton-Garden:* according to the form in my liturgy, (about fifteen communicants preſent.) On *Whitſunday* the ſame year, we had a ſecond ſolemn aſſembly for the ſame purpoſe: which was continued ſeveral years, at leaſt three times in a year: at *Eaſter*, *Whitſuntide*, and *Chriſtmas*.

N. B. In purſuance of my propoſals for erecting *Societies for Promoting Primitive Chriſtianity*, ſuch a ſociety was erected about this time: and met weekly at the primitive library, which was at my houſe in *Croſs-Street*, *Hatton-Garden* (in which houſe I have heard the famous Mr. *Flamſteed* once alſo lived.) It laſted about two years, from *July* 3, 1715, to *June* 28, 1717. Of which ſociety, its chairmen, and ſecretary, and rules, ſee Dr. *Clarke*'s life, 1ſt edition, page 86—91.

However, I will here add one particular circumſtance, not related elſewhere, which concerns this ſociety. When we firſt met, and were very deſirous no bar ſhould be laid in the way of any that pretended to be chriſtians, from joining with us. Mr. *Joſiah Martin*, the moſt learned of all the people called quakers that I ever knew, offered himſelf

to

to be a member, and was readily received as ſuch. I then propoſed, that we ſhould uſe ſome ſhort collects, taken out of our *Common-Prayer-Book*, before we began, and after we ended every meeting, to implore the bleſſing of God upon our enquiries. To which propoſal all readily agreed but Mr. *Martin*, who intirely ſcrupled joining with us in ſuch prayers, unleſs when the ſpirit moved him. Which occaſioned a good deal of difficulty to the ſociety. Yet at laſt we agreed to leave him to himſelf, to ſtay either with his hat on or off, as he pleaſed; and he gave us leave to ſay our prayers ourſelves; nor did he ever diſturb us: nor was he afterward an unuſeful member, when he came to the ſociety. Only I cannot but obſerve, that when after many years intermiſſion, an attempt was made for reviving that ſociety, and he was deſired to return to it, he commended the deſign, but ſeemed unwilling to join in it. I ſuſpect the reſult of ſome of his former enquires made him ſenſible, that examination would not turn out to the advantage of his friends, and he had not courage enough to think of leaving them. However, I muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, that he it was who firſt put me upon writing the ſheet I lately publiſhed, for reconciling the four evangeliſts, as to their ſeveral narrations about our Saviour's reſurrection.

The ſame year, 1715, I publiſhed ſeveral papers relating to my cauſe before the court of delegates, *viz.*

I. *Mr.* Whiſton's *Reaſons againſt that procedure*, already mentioned.

II. *The Articles exhibited againſt him by Dr.* Pelling *in that cauſe.*

III. *Mr.* Whiſton's *Defence of himſelf from thoſe Articles.*

To which was added,

IV. *His Letter to Dr.* Sacheverel.

V. *His*

V. *His Letter to the Biſhop of* London, *with the Anſwers.*

VI. *His Letter to Mr.* Broughton, *and Mr.* Broughton's *Anſwer*, 8vo. price 3*s.* But theſe two laſt letters being on both ſides much too warm, and of little conſequence, may be omitted hereafter: nor need the letter to the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, page 96—100, be here reprinted any more; it having been printed elſewhere: nor need the obſervations on Dr. *Clarke*'s *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* be reprinted here; they being printed at the end of my fifth volume, *The Recognitions of Clement*; and the teſtimomes there included, more fully in my letter to the earl of *Nottingham*, and its defence; of which hereafter.

Memorandum, that a little before the famous total eclipſe of the Sun, *April* 22, this year, 1715, I publiſhed two ſchemes of that eclipſe: the latter of which is inſerted into that larger collection of ſchemes; an account of that and of the next total eclipſe of the Sun, *May* 11, 1724, which I publiſhed a little afterward, and together, rolled, amounted to 7*s.* tho' my own later ſcheme of the eclipſe, in 1715, was but 2*s.* 6*d.*

N. B. This moſt eminent eclipſe, 1715, was exactly foretold by Mr. *Flamſteed*, Dr. *Halley*, and myſelf: its beginning came to one minute, and its end within four of the calculations. And it was, perhaps, more exactly obſerved by the *French* aſtronomers in *London*, and by our own at the royal ſociety, and elſewhere, than any other eclipſe ever was. I myſelf by my lectures before; by the ſale of my ſchemes before and after; by the generous preſents of my numerous and noble audience; who at the recommendation of my great friend, the lord *Stanhope*, then ſecretary of ſtate, gave me a guinea apiece; by the very uncommon preſent

of

of twenty guineas from another of my great benefactors, the duke of *Newcaſtle*; and of five guineas at night from the lord *Godolphin*; gained in all about 120*l.* by it. Which, in the circumſtances I then was, and have ſince been, deſtitute of all preferment, was a very ſeaſonable and plentiful ſupply: and, as I reckoned, maintained me and my family for a whole year together.

Another remarkable circumſtance relating to this eclipſe, that I had from the lord *Forfar*, deſerves to be particularly remembred; which was this: when Mr. *Flamſteed*'s, Dr. *Halley*'s, and my ſchemes, foretelling, to a minute, when the Sun would begin to be eclipſed, and that it would be total, were cried about every where in *London*, there happened to be a *Mahometan* envoy here from *Tripoly*, who at firſt thought we were diſtracted, by pretending to know ſo very punctually when God Almighty would totally eclipſe the Sun; which his own muſſulmen were not able to do. He concluding thus, that Almighty God would never reveal ſo great a ſecret to us unbelievers, when he did not reveal it to thoſe whom he eſteemed true believers. However, when the eclipſe came exactly as we all foretold, he was aſked again, what he thought of the matter now? His anſwer was, that he ſuppoſed we knew this by art magick; otherwiſe he muſt have turned *Chriſtian* upon ſuch an extraordinary event as this was.

N. B. This eclipſe of the Sun, tho' I then did not think of it, appears now to have been a divine ſignal for the end of over-bearing perſecution in two of the ten idolatrous and perſecuting kingdoms, which aroſe in the fifth century, in the *Roman* empire, the *Britains* and the *Saxons*. See *Eſſay on the Revelation of St.* John, ſecond edition, page

page 323, 324. As I look upon the numerous and remarkable eclipſes of the aſtronomical year 1736, to be the like divine ſignals of the end of all ſhadow of perſecution there. See the ſame place of my *Eſſay on the Revelations*; and my intire pamphlet upon that *Aſtronomical Year*, publiſhed 1737, of which hereafter.

About the ſame year, 1715, I publiſhed an aſtronomical inſtrument, called *The Copernicus*, for the ready calculation and exhibition of all eclipſes, both of the Sun and Moon, paſt and to come. With a ſmall manual of directions for its uſe. The price of the inſtrument was ſix guineas; and of the manual only 1 *s.* But of this inſtrument before, at *A. D.* 1710.

June 14th the ſame year, 1715, I ſent a letter to Mr. *Lydal*, aſſiſtant to Dr. *Sacheverell*, on his preaching againſt me at St. *Andrew*'s, *Holborn*, when I was preſent. This letter I afterwards printed, and gave away to the pariſhioners of St. *Andrew*'s, *gratis*. It has been added at the end of the collection of papers, about my proſecution in the court of delegates.

About the end of the ſame year, 1715, I publiſhed *St. Clement*'s *and St. Irenæus*'s *Vindication of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, from ſeveral objections made againſt them; as alſo, *An Account of the two ancient Rules for the celebration of* Eaſter; with a *Poſtſcript*, on occaſion of Mr. *Turner*'s diſcourſe againſt the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*. There was afterwards added a large *Supplement*, containing Mr. *Pfaffius*'s account of a moſt remarkable *Fragment of Irenæus*'s, by him juſt before publiſhed. And *Juſtin Martyr*'s account of the *Chriſtian* Lord's Day Worſhip, of Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper; with Dr. *Grabe*'s and my notes, to ſhew how very agreeable this account is to that in the *Conſtitutions*, 8vo. Price together, 1 *s.*

N. B.

N. B. I well remember, that the very learned Mr. *Waſſe* expreſſed a particular regard to this pamphlet, as of great force for the juſtification of theſe *Conſtitutions.*

It may not, perhaps, be here improper to take particular notice of that branch of this pamphlet which treats of the *Wedneſday* and *Friday*'s ſtations, or half faſts, and produces more evidence for their obſervation by the firſt *Chriſtians*, than can be produced for their obſervation of the Lord's Day itſelf, tho' both be undeniable, page 42——48. And to note, that as the proteſtants retain hardly any traces of them, or of the other faſts appointed by *Chriſt* and his apoſtles in the *Conſtitutions*, ſo do the *Roman Catholicks*, who profeſs a much greater regard to them, ſo far as their church enjoins them, than the *Proteſtants*, have, in part, corrupted them alſo, and that, from their known maxim, that *liquidum non ſolvit jejunium*, that *drinking what is liquid does not break their faſt.* A memorable example of which I well remember, and will here ſet down. I once went to ſpeak with the learned Dr. *Woodward*, the phyſician; it was on a *Wedneſday*, or *Friday*, I do not know which; he offered me a diſh of chocolate, which I refuſed, telling him that I kept the old rule of *Chriſtians*, and ſhould not take any more food 'till three o'clock in the afternoon: he reply'd, that I might drink chocolate, if it were well mill'd, and thereby made a *liquid*, and be faſting ſtill: and to prove his aſſertion, he produced a thin book in *quarto*, written by a cardinal, to that very purpoſe. However, neither did the cardinal's authority nor reaſon move me to alter my own *Chriſtian* practice; nor did Dr. *Halley*'s argument, in the like caſe, move me, when, on my refuſal from him of a glaſs of wine on a *Wedneſday*, or *Friday*, for the ſame

ſame reaſon, he ſaid, "He was afraid I had a "pope in my belly," which I denied, and added, ſomewhat bluntly, that had it not been for the riſe now and then of a *Luther*, and a *Whiſton*, he would himſelf have gone down on his knees to St. *Winifrid* and St. *Bridget:* which he knew not how to contradict. 'Tis much ſafer to keep the original rules of the goſpel, than to invent evaſions and diſtinctions how we may moſt plauſibly break them, which is the way of the moderns perpetually.

But now it may not be amiſs to digreſs a little, and to give ſome account of biſhop *Hoadley*, our once famous writer of controverſy, and obſerve how preferment, or the hopes of it, alter and corrupts the minds of men: I call him and the reſt of his brethren, in this paper, *biſhops*, as legally ſuch; without determining whether he, or thoſe others who have ſo often, and ſo notoriouſly, broken the canons of the apoſtles, and the known laws of *Chriſtianity*, both in their coming in, and behaviour afterwards, can be eſteemed *Chriſtian Biſhops* or not. Now in the year 1711, after I had publiſhed my four volumes of *Primitive Chriſtianity Reviv'd*, we had a meeting at Mr. *Benjamin Hoadley*'s (that was his name then, and I do but tranſcribe my own account from *The Life of Dr. Clarke*, firſt edition, page 28, 29.) who, upon our debate about the genuineneſs of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, thus declared his mind, "That without "entering into the diſpute, whether theſe *Conſti-* "*tutions* were really genuine and apoſtolical, or "not, he was for receiving them, as much better "than what was already in the church." After five years, in 1716, Mr. *Hoadley* was made biſhop of *Bangor*. At which time, I told his lordſhip, that he had now 500 *l.* [it proved 800 *l.*] a year, to keep the [primitive] *Chriſtian* Religion out of *England*. And, I think, that he has ſince he was made

made a biſhop, (for he was a much better man before,) abundantly verified my prediction. In the firſt place, he took the biſhoprick of *Bangor*, and the 800*l.* a year, which was intended to maintain a reſident biſhop in that dioceſe, and this for ſix intire years together, without ever ſeeing that dioceſe in his life, to the great ſcandal of religion. He then became a great writer of controverſy, one of the moſt pernicious things to true *Chriſtianity* in the world, as well as diſagreeable to the peaceable temper of a good *Chriſtian*. And, indeed, this *Bangorian Controverſy* ſeemed, for a great while, to engroſs the attention of the publick: altho' when a great friend of mine, of ability, and at other time of inclination, to employ his time better, had once acknowledged to the very learned Mr. *Waſſe*, who was his friend alſo, that he was reading the *Bangorian Controverſy*, he was juſtly called no other than *a reptile* for his pains. After this, biſhop *Hoadley* was removed from the biſhoprick of *Bangor* to that of *Hereford*; and from *Hereford* to *Saliſbury*; and from *Saliſbury* to *Wincheſter*. He alſo, with others of his brethren, raiſes an eſtate out of the revenues of the church, for his own family; and with the reſt of his brethren, 'till lately, left his dioceſe almoſt every year, to approve himſelf a political biſhop in the houſe of lords; all in direct contradiction to the laws of *Chriſtianity*. To ſay nothing of his ſecond marriage, when he was old, to a young woman; and his exerciſe of his epiſcopal function after ſuch a ſecond marriage, in a like contradiction to the laws of *Chriſtianity*. All which notorious practices, together with the publication of a moſt injudicious and unlearned treatiſe about the Lord's Supper; beſides his many political writings, quite unbecoming a *Chriſtian* biſhop, ſeems to me fully to have made out my original prediction, that he has taken moſt effectual care

to keep primitive *Chriſtianity* out of theſe kingdoms.

N. B. It may not be wholly improper, upon this occaſion, to ſay ſomewhat of biſhop *Hoadley*'s grand antagoniſt, Dr. *Snape*; who once dined with me at archbiſhop *Sharp*'s, with ſeveral others of the clergy, about the time that I was firſt entring on my enquiries about *Athanaſianiſm*; and the diſcourſe falling on the boldneſs of my attempt, Dr. *Snape*, as I was going away, ſaid to me very ſeriouſly, "Mr. *Whiſton*, you are going upon a great "deſign, I pray God direct you in what you are "going about." Which is not very unlike to what Dr. *Gooch*, now biſhop of *Ely*, wrote to me upon his peruſal of ſome of my papers in MS. at *Cambridge*.

S I R,

I Heartily thank you for the peruſal of your papers. I wiſh that every man who means honeſtly, and acts fairly, may meet with, however he fails to give, ſatisfaction.

Your humble Servant,

T. Gooch.

As for biſhop *Hoadley*'s brother, Dr. *John Hoadley*, firſt biſhop of *Fern*, then archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and laſtly of *Armagh*; what I ſay of him in my life of Dr. *Clarke*, page 29, 30. is this; I cannot ſay the ſame of him that I do of his brother, [*viz.* That he was for receiving the conſtitutions, as much better than what was already in the church,] but this I ſay, that he then and ever ſince has ſhewn a great averſion to their admiſſion; and indeed to the admiſſion of any old proper *Chriſtian* rules of diſcipline at all: and he has always

always eſteemed me as one deſirous of bringing perſecution into the church, by my endeavours for the reſtoration of that diſcipline: and no great wonder, for I have long perceived that he, and not a few others of his ſtamp, and degree of ignorance and folly, are not indeed quite unwilling to admit the *New Teſtament*, if it will bear an interpretation fitted to their looſe way of thinking and acting; but if otherwiſe, they are ready to ſay, *We will not have this Man to reign over us.* Accordingly, when Mr. *Arthur Onſlow* once acknowledged to me, that he had a hand in recommending him to an *Iriſh* biſhoprick, I told him, with the utmoſt warmth and freedom, "That I ſhould "come in a witneſs againſt him at the great day, "for his recommendation of ſo unfit and unwor-"thy a perſon." And to make one ſo groſsly ignorant, archbiſhop of *Armagh*, the ſeat of the moſt learned, perhaps, of all the archbiſhops that ever were, I mean primate *Uſher*, was ſtill more abſurd and intolerable.

N. B. How little occaſion there is for writing or reading modern books of controverſy in divinity, in order to a man's ſatisfaction, every one may eaſily perceive, if he will but believe what I aſſure him to be fact, that above two years ago, beſides my former peruſals, I did myſelf read over all the *Chriſtian* writers of the two firſt centuries, in their original languages, abating the known books of the *New Teſtament*, twice in the ſpace of five months; and made not a few obſervations upon them, which I have now by me. I alſo can aſſure him, upon thoſe, and my former peruſals, there is hardly any difference of opinion in all thoſe writers of two centuries. How eaſy therefore is it to know, and to practice, true primitive *Chriſtianity*; had men but a ſincere deſire to know and to prac-

tice it: otherwiſe, *Non perſuadebis etiamſi perſuaſeris.* But as to the multitude of books now in the world, I have long thought, that if ninety-nine out of a hundred of them were burnt, and deſtroyed, true ſound learning, and true ſound religion would be in far better ſtate than they at preſent are. And now I have had occaſion to mention my great friend, Mr. *Waſſe*, one more learned than any biſhop in *England* ſince biſhop *Lloyd*; and of whom Dr. *Bentley*'s ſaying is well known, that "When "he ſhould be himſelf dead, he would be the moſt "learned man in *England*." I muſt be allow'd to enlarge upon his concern in my affairs, ſtudies, and writings. Now it happened, that when I was firſt noted for an *Heretick*, about 1708, Mr. *Waſſe* was put up to preach at an archidiaconal viſitation; where he preached ſo heartily againſt me, or rather againſt my doctrine, that the clergy came to deſire him to print his ſermon: but this he refuſed to do; becauſe, as he truly alledg'd, he had not examined the matter throughly enough for ſuch publication. About the ſame time, and while I was very buſy in diſcovering that the larger epiſtles of St. *Ignatius* were his genuine epiſtles, but not the ſmaller; which, at that time, Mr. *Waſſe* embraced; he happened to go through a courſe of experiments, under Mr. *Cotes* and myſelf at *Cambridge:* When he all along ſtrenuouſly, and like a critick, endeavoured to ſupport the ſmaller epiſtles againſt me: Nor did he change his mind in that matter, 'till the evidence produced before our *Society for promoting Primitive Chriſtianity*, ſome years afterward, or *A. D.* 1717, was laid before him at *Hinhoe*; when he intirely gave up the ſmaller, and admitted the larger epiſtles as genuine. Nor did the ſame Mr. *Waſſe* fully let go his hold of *Athanaſianiſm*, as he told me himſelf, 'till he ſaw my demonſtration, that *Tertullian*'s ſort of *Athanaſian* expli-

explication of the Trinity, in his book againſt *Proxeas*, was acknowledged by himſelf to have been taken, not from any apoſtolical tradition, but from the montaniſt *Enthuſiaſm:* which, at the ſame time, ſatisfied Sir *Peter King* alſo. Nay, indeed, Mr. *Waſſe* was ſoon ſo far ſatisfied in the truth of the *Euſebian* doctrine, that when Dr. *Lupton* and I had long ago a diſpute at *Ainhoe*, the doctor looked on Mr. *Waſſe* as almoſt as great an *Heretick* as myſelf. Nay, he was at laſt ſo throughly ſatisfied, that he not only had a great while omitted the *Athanaſian* creed himſelf, and endeavoured to perſuade his neighbouring clergy to omit it alſo; but, in my hearing, he publickly omitted in his church at *Ainhoe*, both the third and fourth petitions of the litany; that to the *Holy Ghoſt*, and that to the *Trinity*, as knowing them to be intirely unjuſtifiable, and unexampled in primitive *Chriſtianity*; as I had done the very ſame at *Cambridge* at firſt, to the great ſurprize and diſorder of the whole univerſity. He alſo, after he was thus fully ſatisfied himſelf, offered, as he told me, to have debated thoſe matters with the late archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Potter*, then regius profeſſor of divinity at *Oxford*, and the other learned men there; but they refuſed. Yet how any learned chriſtians can go on in the *Athanaſian* doctrines and practices, with a good conſcience, while they have now, for above thirty-eight years together, refuſed all offers for examination, either of the *Euſebian* doctrines, or of the genuineneſs of St. *Ignatius*'s larger epiſtles, or of the apoſtolical conſtitutions themſelves; whence thoſe epiſtles are, in great part, taken; to which they have been ſo honeſtly and frequently invited, I cannot poſſibly underſtand.

After theſe perſons of great note, I ſhall ſay ſomewhat of another ſincere friend of mine, tho' not ſo well known in the world; at whoſe houſe

at *Yelvertoft*, *Northamptonſhire*, I wrote my *Addreſs to the Princes and States of Europe*; to be hereafter mentioned: I mean my old chamber-fellow at *Clare-hall*, Mr. *John Lawrence*, who firſt brought me acquainted with his good father, with whom I lived very agreeably for a month together, at Mr. *Brown*'s beadhouſe in *Stamford*, *Lincolnſhire*; where I got acquainted with that great mathematician Mr. *Gilbert*, clerk; and gained ſome light from him in the firſt elements of aſtronomy, at the end of the year 1687, and the beginning of 1688; and where I became acquainted alſo with that truly great and good man, Dr. *Cumberland*, afterward biſhop of *Peterborough*. This Mr. *Lawrence* ſoon became very inquiſitive about Dr. *Clarke*'s and my diſcoveries as to the primitive faith, and to my diſcoveries about the apoſtolical conſtitutions. And, beſides thoſe extracts of his letters which have been by me produced upon other occaſions, he it was who wrote to Dr. *Clarke* that objurgatory, but friendly letter, about his ſeeming to have recanted, upon the violence of the convocation againſt him. And he it was who publiſhed that letter and the papers of Dr. *Clarke* in an *Apology for him*, and with his own approbation.

And now I have ſpoken ſo much of biſhop and archbiſhop *Hoadly*, of Mr. *Waſſe*, and Mr. *Lawrence*, I muſt ſay ſomewhat of biſhop *Gibſon*; one of quite another character than the fore-mentioned biſhop and archbiſhop: one that I think married but once; and changed his dioceſe but once, *viz.* from *Lincoln* to *London*; one who has written ſeveral devotional and practical manuals, with good reputation: one who performed divine offices in a ſober, and grave, and ſolemn way, becoming a chriſtian biſhop: one of ſuch great generoſity, that he freely gave the 2500*l.* left him by Dr. *Crow*, once his chaplain, to Dr. *Crow*'s own relations: and

and one, who, in the reign of king *George* I. preached againſt that groſs court-foolery of *Maſquerades*, and procured an addreſs to the king from ſeveral of his brethren the biſhops, to put them down; tho' without effect: which, in my opinion, was an action both very bold, and very meritorious. This biſhop has alſo publiſhed ſeveral ſober paſtoral letters to his dioceſe, againſt infidelity. Yet all this is done in ſuch a way of groſs ignorance of primitive chriſtianity, as if he had never heard of any other ſtandard but modern popiſh canons, and parliamentary laws, and political injunctions of princes; like the infamous doctrine of Mr. *Hobbes* of *Mamelſbury*. 'Tis now about 20 years ago that I wrote to this biſhop of *London*, to call the preſbyters, deacons, and principal of the laity of his dioceſs together, in way of primitive chriſtian diſcipline; and to ſummon withal before them Mr. *Henley* the orator; whoſe vile hiſtory I knew ſo well, that I offered to come and *tell it to the church*, according to our Saviour's rule, *Matt.* xviii. 17. in order to his vindication of himſelf, or conviction, and excluſion from the chriſtian ſociety; provided all were done without any temporal penalties whatſoever: of which true eccleſiaſtical diſcipline knows nothing. The anſwer returned me from the biſhop, by Dr. *Nathaniel Marſhal*, was this, "that ſince no canon [now in "force] enabled him ſo to proceed, he could do no-"thing." Since which time Mr. *Henley* has gone on, for above twenty years more, and ſtill goes on without controul every week, as an *eccleſiaſtical mountebank*, to abuſe religion; to the publick ſcandal of this church and nation. Nay, when that excellent chriſtian and confeſſor, Mr. *Thomas Emlyn*, was moſt unjuſtly and irregularly refuſed the communion at *Iſlington*, by one of the weakeſt and fooliſheſt of our modern enthuſiaſts, Mr.

Stonehouſe, then rector of that place; and Mr. *Emlyn* had written a ſober chriſtian letter to the biſhop of *London*, to deſire his interpoſition for his re-admiſſion to that holy ordinance, which Mr. *Stonehouſe* uſed not till then to ſcruple giving him; he returned ſuch an anſwer, which I have ſeen, as refer'd the juſtneſs of his refuſal to ſome civilians or canoniſts only; without any thing in it like a chriſtian biſhop. I have ſaid not unfrequently, that this biſhop ſeemed to think the church of *England*, as it juſt then happend to be, eſtabliſhed by modern laws and canons, came down from heaven, with the athanaſian creed in its hand. Accordingly I believe my late lord of *London*, with his brother and friend biſhop *Smallbroke*, took the moſt effectual care of all other biſhops, that the *Euſebians* or primitive chriſtians ſhould be publickly *curſed* thirteen times every year, in their two dioceſes; by the reading the *monſtrous Athanaſian* creed by their clergy. Whether they can believe it or not; I call it a *monſtrous Creed*, in the words of the very learned Dr. *Kuſter*, who to me, many years ago called the doctrine therein contain'd, *monſtrum Trinitatis*. He ſaid alſo, in my hearing, upon his peruſal of the third volume of my *Primitive Chriſtianity Reviv'd*, what ſhall we ſay to Mr. *Whiſton* about the conſtitutions? what ſhall we ſay to him? as being utterly at a loſs how to anſwer the evidence I had there produced for them. However, there was a time, before queen *Caroline* died, when this biſhop of *London* ſeemed not ſo obſtinate in theſe matters. I once waited upon him, it was probably about the year 1735, and probably for his ſubſcription to my *Joſephus*: he treated me very kindly; and I aſked him, ſince he was a great canoniſt, whether the canons of the apoſtles [at leaſt the firſt fifty] were not part of our own canon law in *England* at this day? and if ſo, why they

they did not ſtand at the beginning of his codex; as they uſually do even in the popiſh collections themſelves; his anſwer was, that he thought they were abrogated by the 25th of *Henry* VIII. An anſwer to me ſufficiently ſtrange and ſurprizing; who not only acknowledged no power in any parliament to abrogate our Saviour's own laws, by his apoſtles; but afterward found, upon farther enquiry, that theſe canons were not yet abrogated by that or any other law in this nation; but continue to be ſtill part of its eccleſiaſtical laws: but only ſo very good ones, as in our *wicked, ſilly, ſelfiſh Age*, as Dr. *Newton* juſtly ſtiles it, againſt pluralities, *Preface*, page 18, are every where given up for impracticable. However, when I farther inſiſted with his lordſhip for the examination of the intire apoſtolical conſtitutions, and complained that the labours and ſtudies, and books of our divines at preſent, were ſo remote from the primitive ages, that till they laid all the moderns aſide for a good while, and read none but the firſt two or three centuries, they were incapable of judging well about that matter: He ſaid, that might be a good way. And if once our biſhops would lay aſide thoſe their preſent unwarrantable impoſitions, which can no way be ſupported by the primitive records, and fall to the peruſal of the moſt primitive ages in earneſt, both the clergy and laity would certainly follow their examples; and that moſt important matter might ſoon be determined, to the greateſt ſatisfaction of all good chriſtians: who, for want of ſuch a ſtandard, do rove about uncertainly from one hypotheſis, party, or pretender to another; nay ſometimes become ſcepticks or infidels as to our common chriſtianity itſelf. Moreover, this biſhop of *London* did not only patronize that horrible curſe upon the *Euſebians* or chriſtians, the

the *Athanaſian* creed, but long ſupported an annual lecture, I mean that founded by the lady *Moyer*, againſt the *Euſebians* or chriſtians, under the falſe name of *Arians:* and this even ſince the publication of my pamphlet concerning *Athanaſian Forgeries, and its Appendix, or Appeal to* xxx *Primitive Councils againſt the Athanaſian Hereſy*; which, I venture to ſay it openly, have rendred all vindications of it, in the way of learning, abſolutely impoſſible. One thing farther I have to obſerve in the conduct of this biſhop, during the many years he was the grand recommender to eccleſiaſtical preferments at court, *viz.* That he took vaſt care to keep out ſuch as were ſuſpected not to be *Athanaſians*, till at length Dr. *Rundle* was recommended by the lord chancellor *Talbot*, whom I well knew to be no *Athanaſian*, but once a zealous promoter of primitive chriſtianity, upon the foot of the apoſtolical conſtitutions, till the uſual corrupter of clergymen, the proſpect of preferment, diverted him another way: I ſay the biſhop's over-grown zeal againſt his promotion, and the over-earneſt ſolicitations for the eaſy recovery of tithes to the clergy from the quakers, at length overſet him at court, and procured his excluſion from any ſuch high pretenſions. And this, which is to me very remarkable, in the celebrated *Aſtronomical Year* 1736; as I have obſerved in the ſecond edition of my *Eſſay on the Revelation*, page 320, ——324. For which ſtoppage to his career, of bringing on a *Codex Perſecution*, which I was at that time aware of, he ought ſincerely to have thanked Divine Providence; leſt at the great day he ſhould have been found, not among the orthodox promoters of truth, but the heretical perſecutors of the chriſtian religion.

And now I am upon the character of our archbiſhops and biſhops, particularly the late biſhop of *London*,

London, who was once eſteemed the heir apparent of the archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, till the unhappy circumſtances already mentioned befel him, it may not be improper to ſet down a large letter of mine to archbiſhop *Wake*, who, in the year 1721, united with the then lord *Nottingham*, to bring in ſuch a new teſt upon thoſe called *Arians*, as the biſhop of *London* himſelf, as it was ſuppoſed, wrote againſt, under the title of *Remarks on Part of a Bill lately brought into the Houſe of Lords*. This paper I have by me; and it has been already mentioned. And tho' it was not written in the leaſt out of favour to the *Arians*, yet did it, I ſuppoſe, help to get the bill rejected. However, my letter to the archbiſhop is ſo full and diſtinct as to need no farther introduction; and is, I think, one of the moſt material of all the letters that I publiſh on this occaſion: it runs thus *verbatim*.

Croſs-Street,
Hatton-Garden, October 25, 1712.

May it pleaſe your GRACE,

TO call to mind, that in the ſummer of the year 1710, I came from *Cambridge*, in company with Dr. *Laughton* of *Clarehall*, who was then tutor to a relation of your grace's, [*Martin Folkes*, Eſq; now preſident of the royal ſociety:] and with ſeveral of his pupils, members of the ſame college, to wait on your grace, who, at that time, was biſhop of *Lincoln*, at *Bugden*; and to deſire your permiſſion for printing your *Tranſlation of the ſmaller Epiſtles of* Ignatius; (which had been before publiſhed, in your grace's very uſeful *Engliſh* edition of the *Apoſtolical Fathers*;) together with my own tranſlation of the *larger Epiſtles*, in my *Primitive Chriſtianity Reviv'd*; which I was, at that time, about to publiſh. Your grace will alſo call

call to mind, that, upon my coming to *Bugden*, you was pleaſed to receive me with great humanity and kindneſs; tho' you well knew what doctrines I had then openly embrac'd, and was going to make publick: inſomuch that you was pleaſed, not only to grant my requeſt for my uſe of your *Tranſlation of* Ignatius's *Epiſtles*, as I did accordingly; but to do me the favour of taking me into your ſtudy, and of diſcourſing freely with me there about the ancient doctrines of chriſtianity; and, particularly, of ſhewing me your own MS. collections out of the primitive fathers, made much after the ſame manner that I had made mine; but mainly relating to that controverſy againſt the *Papiſts*, wherein your grace had been formerly engaged with ſo great reputation. You was alſo pleaſed then to invite me to come over to *Bugden* another time, to ſtay two or three days with you, that you might more fully diſcourſe with me about thoſe doctrines. Sometime after this, as your grace will remember, I put into your hands my intire *Diſſertation on the Epiſtles of* Ignatius, before it was printed, for your peruſal, correction, and opinion: which diſſertation you was pleaſed, after ſome time, to return, without giving me either your correction or opinion. I alſo waited on your grace, when you came to *Cambridge*, about the month of *September*, the ſame year, to diſcourſe with you farther concerning thoſe matters; I well remember the time, becauſe it was when the *Convocation* was about to ſit; and when your grace thought it very fit that my papers ſhould be laid before that *Convocation* before they were printed, for their *examination*: which motion I, with great readineſs, agreed to. You was alſo pleaſed to add this truly *honeſt*, truly *memorable*, and truly *chriſtian promiſe or declaration*, which I am ſure I never ſhall, and I heartily wiſh your grace never may forget,

forget, *viz.* " That altho' what I then aſſerted " concerning the Trinity, was contrary to what " you had believed, even as *fundamental*, all your " life; yet did you aſſure me, that in caſe you " ſhould be one of thoſe choſen by the convocation " for the examination of that matter, you would " do it with the ſame impartiality, as if you had " never been of the contrary opinion at all." Which appear'd alſo to be, for ſeveral years afterwards, your *real*, tho' not perhaps ſufficiently *reſolute* ſentiments, by your conſtant conduct in your dioceſe; as well as at *London*, during that convocation wherein I was ſo deeply concern'd; and during that later convocation alſo, wherein Dr. *Clarke* was afterward concern'd.

Seeing then your grace well knows all this to be true, and ſeeing all the nation do now know that of late years, ſince you have been removed from *Bugden* to *Lambeth*, your ſentiments and conduct have [after ſome time] been diametrically oppoſite to your former ſentiments and conduct, to that *prodigious degree* indeed, that what your grace formerly promiſed to *examine* with the utmoſt impartiality, as poſſibly no other than the *genuine doctrines of chriſtianity*; you now declare, in open parliament, you would have puniſhed, even *before*, and *without ſuch examination*, with the *utmoſt ſeverity*, as no better than profane *blaſphemy*; I, who among many others, am deeply concern'd in the conſequences of ſuch an *amazing change* in your grace; and with regard to whom, with all due reſpect be it ſpoken, your grace is not clear of your *obligation*, by a particular *promiſe*, to promote that method of *impartial examination*, do hereby, in a ſolemn manner, in my own name, and in the name of many other ſincere lovers of *truth* and true *chriſtianity*, humbly deſire, and openly inſiſt on ſuch a *publick*, ſuch an *impartial examination*; or,

at

at leaſt, on as plain and publick an *account* of your grace's *reaſons againſt it.*

And here give me leave, my lord, to ſay ſomewhat concerning the late celebrated performance of my lord *Nottingham*, relating to one principal branch of that important argument; ſomewhat that was not ſo fit to be ſaid in my reply to his lordſhip, but is fit to be ſaid to your grace, as the head of the *Engliſh* clergy; whoſe ſolemn and repeated thanks, and thoſe alone, have rendred my lord *Nottingham*'s anſwer ſo conſiderable. My lord of *Nottingham*, as your grace knows, has therein undertaken to diſcuſs a very momentous queſtion, relating intirely to the faith of the *three firſt centuries and an half*, without having ſo much as occaſionally conſulted the far greateſt part of the teſtimonies produc'd in my letters from the writers of thoſe centuries; and without pretending to have himſelf read, by way of preparation, *any one of the writers of thoſe centuries*, excepting the books of the *New Teſtament:* Nor does his lordſhip profeſs to have read, even them, with any other help, but that of certain modern *Athanaſian* expoſitors only; and yet is this *imperfect* and *unlearned* performance, ſo give me leave to call it, cried up to the ſkies: the univerſity of *Oxford*, the univerſity of *Cambridge*, and the *London* clergy; three of the moſt learned bodies of this kingdom, to ſay nothing of the other addreſſers, ſeem to vie one with another in their congratulations for it, and celebration of it. The caſe is juſt the ſame, may it pleaſe your grace, as if ſome honeſt and zealous *Preſbyterian* nobleman, belonging to the kirk of *Scotland*, that had frequently read the *New Teſtament*, with *Beza*'s and Mr. *Baxter*'s annotations; and had read Mr. *Clarkſon* againſt epiſcopacy, and two or three more modern writers of that ſide, ſhould pretend, without having, even occaſionally, conſulted

conſulted much the greateſt part of the ancient teſtimonies for epiſcopacy; or indeed, himſelf, read any one of the ancient writers themſelves, to *determine* that controverſy, and to *demonſtrate* that epiſcopacy was not the government of the church, during the four firſt centuries. What opinion would your grace, and the other real maſters of *chriſtian* antiquity, have of the value of ſuch a performance? But ſuppoſe you ſhould farther hear, that the univerſity of *Glaſcow*, the univerſity of *Aberdeen*, &c. and the clergy of *Edinburgh*, to ſay nothing of the claſſical conſiſtories in the country, were buſy alſo in returning this honeſt and zealous nobleman ſolemn *thanks*, for that *imperfect and unlearned* treatiſe; and, perhaps, celebrate it as *unanſwerable*. What opinion would your grace, and the really learned have of ſuch a procedure? The application is eaſy. I do not mean this for derogation to my lord *Nottingham*; his anſwer is no ill one, for an *Engliſh* temporal peer; and ſhews that his lordſhip has been very much, and very religiouſly converſant in his *Bible*, and in ſeveral good commentators of the church of *England*; and has a ſerious regard to what his education and ſtudies have recommended to his belief, and practice as genuine *chriſtianity*; which are qualifications ſo very uncommon, and ſo very valuable, eſpecially at this time, in an *Engliſh* temporal peer, that his lordſhip juſtly deſerves very great commendations on theſe accounts. But how honourable ſo ever it be for an *Engliſh* peer among the laity, to be able to write ſuch an anſwer, I venture to ſay, it is not at all honourable for thoſe learned bodies of the *clergy*, to have ſo ſolemnly celebrated that anſwer, as if it were a really learned and conſiderable performance, and likely to contribute to the determination of the controverſy itſelf. They muſt themſelves be very weak, and

and very much unacquainted with *chriſtian* antiquity that think ſo. Nor, indeed, have I heard that any one truly learned maſter of *chriſtian* antiquity, has ever ſaid ſo. What is then the meaning of all theſe learned thanks, and this learned noiſe from the clergy, about my lord *Nottingham*'s anſwer; I believe the thinking part of mankind obſerve, that to the *Anſwer* itſelf there is a *Poſtſcript*, wherein my lord *Nottingham*, an eminent peer of *Great Britain*, has openly declared for *church power*, and for *perſecution*; and that *hinc ille laudes! hinc gratiæ*. But thoſe laſt words, *church power* and *perſecution*, brings me naturally to the preſent bill for *ſubſcriptions*, and for an *inquiſition* to ſupport them. Yet certainly, my lord, this unhappy nation has, of late, had *oaths* enow, *teſts* enow, *ſubſcriptions* enow impoſed upon them: certainly this unhappy nation has, and that in great meaſure, by ſuch means, ſufficiently ſunk the real and conſcientious regard to Almighty God; to his true religion, and to all common honeſty, juſtice, truth, and integrity; unleſs the nation be reſolv'd utterly to exclude thoſe few, very few honeſt men, and ſincere *chriſtians*; I mean thoſe who are ſuch by thorough examination and conviction; who ſtill remain, from the common privileges of *men* and of *chriſtians*, on that very account; and of ſet purpoſe determine to ſelect thoſe, and thoſe only, for indulgence and preferment, who, with or without conviction, according to M. *Hobbes*'s notion, will always be as near as poſſible, to the legal and eſtabliſh'd religion, whatſoever it be. Nor indeed, my lord, if the publick proceeds much farther in this way, will there be almoſt any openly honeſt men, and ſincere *chriſtians*, that dare to appear publickly in theſe kingdoms. However, my lord, if the church and ſtate do reſolve to quench thoſe ſmall remnants of learning, juſtice, and integrity,

grity, which ſtill remain among us, by the introduction of an *holy office* into theſe kingdoms, with your grace at the head of it; it would certainly be convenient, for its future reputation, that the *ſeveral ſorts of blaſphemy* referred to in the preſent bill, may be diſtinguiſh'd by *ſeveral ſorts of penalties*; and that *blaſphemy* againſt *Almighty God* himſelf; or againſt his *Only Begotten Son*; or againſt his *Holy Spirit*, ſhould be puniſhed ſomewhat more ſeverely than *blaſphemy againſt Athanaſius:* which yet I perceive is not taken care of in this bill; which *emendation* I would therefore humbly offer to your grace's conſideration. I conclude with two plain obſervations; the one made by an honeſt *Italian*, who, in the ſincerity of his ſoul, turned *proteſtant*, and came into *England*, in expectation of finding true religion and piety to flouriſh here; it was under the miniſtry of the earl of *Oxford*, when, upon his great diſappointment, he ſaid to me with great grief, *No religion in* Italy: *No religion in* England: *all politicks, politicks.* The author of the other ſhall be nameleſs, but he is one that for ſome time has carefully obſerv'd the circumſtances of eccleſiaſtical affairs, and of the principal eccleſiaſtical perſons in theſe nations; and begs of your grace, and of all others concern'd, ſeriouſly to reflect upon it, before it be too late. *Happy*, ſaid this perſon, *is that man who is not made a worſe chriſtian by being made a biſhop*; *and thrice happy that man who is not made a much worſe chriſtian, by being made an archbiſhop.*

I might here add ſomewhat concerning certain diſcoveries of my own, of very great conſequence, as to the ſacred ſcriptures, and, particularly, the ſacred chronology that lies now by me, no ways unworthy of your grace's, or of the learned's conſideration, and patronage: the ſubſtance of ſome part whereof I had, indeed, thought long ago to

have communicated to your grace, before it were printed; but since you seem to me now to have engaged yourself for modern *church power*, instead of primitive *christian discipline*, and for *persecution*, instead of *examination* in the most sacred matters: I have no more to say, but shall sorely lament your grace's *fall* from your old *pure and peaceable christianity*; as did the *Athanasians* the *fall* of the great *Hosius*, from their novel and pernicious *heresy*. I am, my lord,

Your Grace's very humble Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

P. S. Since I have above made mention of your grace's very useful *English* edition of the *apostolical fathers*, give me leave to set down here a famous passage out of the principal of those fathers; I mean *Clement* of *Rome*, one so little favourable to the *athanasian* doctrine, that it was with some difficulty that he escaped the censure of *blasphemy* from *Photius* on that account, *Cod.* cxxvi. and yet one *whose name* your grace, with all the learned *christian* world, own; after St. *Paul*, to have been *in the Book of Life*, Philip. iv. 3. And see what he thought of *persecution* and of *persecutors*; even in cases where the pretended criminals had the charge, at least, of contradicting some *fundamentals* of the establish'd religion, if not of *blasphemy*, and of *atheism* also laid upon them, in order to cover the *barbarity* of their enemies proceedings against them. The words are these, according to your grace's own version, page 36. "Look into the holy scriptures, which "are the true words of the Holy Ghost. Ye "know that there is nothing unjust or counterfeit "written in them. There you shall not find that "righteous

" righteous men were ever caſt off by ſuch as " were good themſelves: they were perſecuted, " 'tis true, but it was by the wicked and unjuſt: " they were caſt into priſon; but they were caſt " in by thoſe that were unholy: they were ſtoned; " but it was by tranſgreſſors: they were killed; " but by accurſed men, and ſuch as had taken up " an unjuſt envy againſt them: and all theſe " things they underwent gloriouſly. For what " ſhall we ſay, brethren? was *Daniel* caſt into " the den of *lions*, by men fearing God? *Ananias*, " *Azarias*, and *Miſael*, were they caſt into the " fiery furnace, by men profeſſing the excellent " and glorious worſhip of the Moſt High? God " forbid! what kind of perſons then were they " that did theſe things? they were men abomi- " nable, full of all wickedneſs; who were incenſed " to ſo great a degree, as to bring thoſe into ſuf- " fering, who, with a holy and unblameable pur- " poſe of mind, worſhipped God: not knowing " that the Moſt High is the protector and de- " fender of all ſuch, as, with a pure conſcience, " ſerve his holy Name: to whom be glory for " ever and ever. *Amen*."

For a farther demonſtration of this archbiſhop's prodigious change of conduct, take theſe words of his own letter to the ſuperintendant of *Zurich*, publiſhed at *Zurich*, and afterwards here, in a paper then printed, which I have by me, as follows: — " Some of our biſhops, ſays he, are labouring to " pull down the church in which they miniſter; and " to introduce ſuch licentiouſneſs, as would over- " throw the grace of the Holy Spirit, the divinity " of *Chriſt*, and all other fundamental articles of " our religion. That it is to be lamented by all, " that theſe *grievous wolves* are not only not driven " away from the ſheepfold, but are received within

" the walls of the church; and, what is more, pre-
" ferred to its honours, its offices, and its govern-
" ment! that the miniſtry, who have nothing at
" heart but their own power, and the preſervation
" of their places, becauſe they think by tolerating
" and promoting theſe men, they ſhall ingratiate
" themſelves with the populace, are therefore en-
" tirely careleſs what becomes of the church, of
" the faith, or of religion; in ſhort, of *Jeſus Chriſt*
" himſelf, and of his truth.—That he ſhould think
" himſelf guilty of betraying the faith, if he did
" not, whenever opportunity ſerved, anathematize
" theſe hereticks and enemies of our religion."

N. B. That I ſometimes comply with cuſtom as to the denomination of great men, both in church and ſtate, to prevent giving too much offence: Such as, *His moſt Excellent Majeſty: His Royal Highneſs: His Grace: The moſt Reverend, or Right Reverend Father in God*, &c. Without being quite ſatisfied, with the juſtneſs of ſuch *flattering titles*, as *Elihu*, in our verſion, calls them, *Job* xxxii. 21. or their perfect agreement with the ſacred writings: which rather, on all occaſions, aim to depreſs human pride and vanity, and to exalt the divine Omnipotence and Authority. Accordingly, when the preſent biſhop of *Durham* had once told me of a doubt he had, whether *Linus*, mentioned by *Paul*, with his mother *Claudia*, (for ſo the conſtitutions inform us ſhe was, vii. 46.) 2. *Tim* iv. 21. Eubulus *greeteth thee*, *and* Pudens, *and* Linus, *and* Claudia, *and all the brethren:* with no other note of dignity than as *one of the brethren*, could be the then great biſhop of *Rome*; as all the ancients agree he was. I reply'd, " Biſhops, my lord, were " not then *right reverend fathers in God*;" which quite ſilenced the objection. And indeed not only the *Corinthians*, in writing to *Paul* the apoſtle, in their

their epiſtle preſerv'd by the *Armenians*, ſtile him no other than their *brother Paul:* but God himſelf made a law for the kings of *Iſrael*, that *they ſhould not have their hearts lifted up above their brethren*; meaning their ſubjects. *Deut.* xvii. 20. And truly 'tis to me not a little ſhocking, who have long convers'd with plain *Clement*, *biſhop of* Rome; *plain* Ignatius, *biſhop of* Antioch; *plain* Polycarp, *biſhop of* Smyrna; and the reſt of the moſt primitive biſhops, to come down to, *The moſt reverend father in God* Lancelot, *late lord archbiſhop of* York: *The moſt reverend father in God*, John *late lord archbiſhop of* Dublin, *and then of* Armagh: *The right reverend father in God* John, *late lord biſhop of* Landaff: *The right reverend father in God* Richard, *late lord biſhop of* Lincoln: *The right reverend father in God* Robert, *late lord biſhop of* Ely: To ſay nothing of any now alive: And to compare the admirable characters, but humble titles of the former, with the poor characters, and ſwelling titles of the other. *My brethren, theſe things ought not ſo to be.*

And now having had occaſion lately to mention Dr. *Rundle*, as one vehemently oppoſed by the biſhop of *London*, when the lord chancellor *Talbot* recommended him to the court for a biſhoprick; and his character and affairs having made a very great noiſe, it is fit that I, who knew him long and intimately, ſhould a little enlarge upon him in this place. I was acquainted with him firſt at *Oxford*, in the year 1712, when I came thither to ſearch for records, relating to the apoſtolical conſtitutions; and when I was endeavouring to form our *Society for Promoting Primitive Chriſtianity*. He was of *Exeter College*; and ſoon introduc'd himſelf and his tutor Mr. *Rennel* into my acquaintance: they both ſeemed very ſenſible of modern errors and corruptions; and very ready

to join with me for reſtoring primitive chriſtianity; but Mr. *Rennel* always ſeemed to think *Oxford* could not afford any but themſelves as willing to join in ſuch a ſociety. When Mr. *Rundle* came afterward to *London*, he became an hearty and zealous member of our ſociety; and introduced into it another excellent young man, Mr. *Talbot*, the ſon of biſhop *Talbot*, who afterwards took holy orders, but died very young; tho' not till he had recommended to his father, who was then biſhop of *Oxford*, but afterwards of *Durham*, not only Mr. *Rundle*, but ſeveral others of his intimate friends; who were greatly prefer'd by him, and at the late queen's recommendation before ſhe died, have by the king been ſtill higher prefer'd to be biſhops or deans; and have I think, been ſome of the beſt that have been prefer'd in this reign. Dr. *Rundle* in particular was taken into the biſhop's boſom, and family; and thence came into the great favour of another of that biſhop's ſons, the truly excellent lord chancellor *Talbot*, (whoſe ſudden death was the moſt greatly lamented by good men, of almoſt that of any one, in this age.) However, before this time, and before Mr. *Rundle* entered into holy orders, he became ſo diſguſted at the corrupt ſtate of the church, and at the tyranny of the eccleſiaſtical laws, that he ſometimes declared againſt obeying them, even where they were in themſelves not unlawful; which was farther then I could go with him. For altho' I think our Saviour never gave even the apoſtles themſelves, much leſs any modern ſynods or convocations, any power to make new laws for chriſtians; he having himſelf delivered ſuch a body of laws to the apoſtles, and they to us in their conſtitutions: yet in caſes where they are ſilent, and the injunctions lawful, I always aim to go by St. *Paul*'s excellent rule, *As far as is poſſible, and as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.* Rom.

Rom. xii. 18. Which is, I confeſs, the proper foundation of my obedience in ſuch caſes. Now at this time, when he had no deſign to take orders, but rather deſired to proceed in my downright upright way, and to hazard all he had for promoting primitive chriſtianity, he was recommended to *John Cater* of *Kempſton*, Eſq; near *Bedford*, to teach his only ſon; where I was once with him; and where another time my old friend Mr. *John Lawrence* was with him; whoſe character, at that time of his life, take from the ſame Mr. *Lawrence*'s letter to me. " When I came from *Aynho*, " I found a letter from Mr. *Cater*, inviting me to " *Kempſton*, whither I accordingly went.——And " becauſe I found there the moſt agreeable conver- " ſation, eſpecially in Mr. *Rundle*, I could not " but communicate to you ſome part of my plea- " ſure, after a pretty deal of perſecution I have " met with from my neighbouring clergy. I was " ſurpriz'd to find ſo young a man, (to my ſhame, " who am fifteen years older) ſo ready in the " fathers and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory; and indeed " ſo learned in all ſciences; but what gives a " luſtre to all, ſo ſtrictly ſober, ſerious, con- " ſciencious, (what ſhall I ſay) ſo daringly good " and honeſt in principle, that I thought myſelf to " live amongſt the primitve chriſtians in the firſt " century."

But now when I was buſy in looking into the character of old chriſtian books, and had a great mind to have the ſibylline oracles, ſo frequently quoted by the primitive chriſtians, throughly enquired into, I deſired Mr. *Rundle* to undertake that work; but he ſoon found the taſk too hard for him; ſo I was forced to examine them myſelf, with the very kind and very valuable aſſiſtance of my ſon-in-law, *Samuel Barker*, Eſq; of *Lyndon*, in the county of *Rutland*. [Whoſe *Hebrew* gram-

mar, which he has been ſo many years about, if once perfected, and publiſhed, would ſhew how much original authors, even in underſtanding that language, would outgo all the modern *Hebrew* grammars whatſoever.] Of which oracles I have ſpoken already. But now I have mentioned my ſon-in-law, Mr. *Barker*, and his aſſiſtance to me in this particular caſe, I muſt do him the juſtice to own farther, his very great aſſiſtance to me on many other occaſions alſo; not only by furniſhing me with many of the beſt ancient books, proper to my deſigns, which I was no way able to purchaſe myſelf, but by adding frequently his own great ſagacity and exactneſs in examination, to my own diſcoveries; in which aſſiſtance none but my old boſom friend, Mr. *Richard Allen*, fellow of *Sidney College*, *Cambridge*, of whom I have made frequent mention in my writings, but now in paradiſe, can at all be compared to him. Nor is it eaſily poſſible for one man to be more obliged to another than I and my family have long been to Mr. *Barker*: may God Almighty reward him for the ſame both in this and the next world.

Now altho' Mr. *Rundle* was at firſt ſo zealous for religion, as a member of our ſociety, yet did not he keep himſelf in ſo temperate and abſtemious a way of living, as one that ſeemed diſpoſed to be a confeſſor ought to uſe himſelf to; which made that real confeſſor, Mr. *Emlyn*, then ſay, "that "Mr. *Rundle* did not ſeem cut out for ſuch ſuffer-"ings as confeſſors are to expect." Accordingly Mr. *Rundle* once invited me to eat a cheeſe-cake, as he termed it, with Mr. *Talbot*, and himſelf: to which invitation I agreed, without ſuſpicion of any particular deſign. But when I came I found ſuch a collation of wine and ſweet-meats prepared, as little correſponded to the terms of the invitation. After ſome time the grand ſecret was diſcloſed, and I was informed

formed that they were both determined to ſign the thirty-nine articles, and take holy orders, and preferment. This greatly ſurpriz'd me, and occaſioned this ſhort but ſharp anſwer from me; "I "underſtand you well; you are going to *leave* "*the paths of uprightneſs to walk in the ways of* "*darkneſs*, and I will have nothing more to do "with you." Now what wonder ſoever may poſſeſs other people, at this my ſurprize and anſwer, Mr. *Arthur Onſlow*, ſometimes chairman of that ſociety, and one that held a frequent correſpondence with Mr. *Rundle* by letters, for a great while together, before this time, will not, I am confident, wonder at either of them; to whom I appeal upon this occaſion. From this time an intire breach was made between Mr. *Rundle* and me for many years, inſomuch that he was afraid to meet me, my reproofs were ſo ſharp, and he was ſo little able to bear them. However, when he had taken his doctor's degree, and great preferment at *Saliſbury* and *Durham*, I was informed, that tho' he had appeared ſo zealous before for the genuine antiquity of the apoſtolical conſtitutions, he ſaid now, they were not written 'till the fourth century; I reply'd, ſeverely, "Make but Dr. *Run*-"*dle* dean of *Durham*, and they will not be writ-"ten 'till the fifth century." Nor did the doctor's great preferment ſucceed well with him; while by indulging himſelf in fine coſtly eating and drinking at *Durham*, he ſo ſpoiled the tone of his ſtomach there, that it never recover'd its natural temper, even when he lived very abſtemiouſly afterward. But then it muſt be obſerved farther, that after many years had cooled much of that vehemence which I long had uſed towards him, a ſpecimen of which the reader may ſee in my *Life* of Dr. *Clarke*, page 38, 39. [illegible] when we were come into a kind of friendſhip again, (as I muſt do

do him the juſtice to ſay, he was always of a very kind, generous, friendly diſpoſition, and afforded me in particular, conſiderable aſſiſtance in the laſt years of his life, and even near the very time of his death, when he wrote me a kind letter to ſend for ten guineas; when he was hardly able to write; and therein deſired ἀληθεύειν ἐν ἀγάπῃ to his laſt moments) when, I ſay, we came into a kind of friendſhip again, it happened that an unlucky imputation was laid upon him by Mr. *Venn*, miniſter of St. *Antholin*'s, one that I was well acquainted with, and had a good opinion of alſo; as if Dr. *Rundle* had ſpoken ſceptically concerning *Abraham*'s offering up his ſon *Iſaac*. I never met with the words charged upon him, ſo I cannot give them my reader; the diſcourſe was in the company of Dr. *Robert Cannon*, when Mr. *Venn* was by: this was ſo charged upon him by Mr. *Venn*, in a letter to the biſhop of *London*, and the charge ſo proſecuted, that it was likely to be urged publickly and legally againſt him, when Dr. *Rundle* was to be confirmed by Dr. *Paul*. I being, as I have already ſaid, well acquainted with the accuſer and the accuſed, went to them both; and upon hearing what Mr. *Venn* teſtified, and knowing that Mr. *Chubb*, of *Sarum*, with whom Dr. *Rundle*, as archdeacon there, was well acquainted, had taken particular offence at that part of the ſacred hiſtory, and had publiſhed a pamphlet againſt it, which I had ſeen; and thence began to be very ſceptical: I ſuſpected ſtrongly that Dr. *Rundle* had been to blame, and had ſaid more than became a believer of the *Bible* to ſay. Accordingly I went to him, and told him of my ſuſpicion: Dr. *Rundle*, in his anſwer, utterly denied the charge: but ſtill did not impute any wilful falſehood to Mr. *Venn*; but rather thought the words might belong to Dr. *Cannon*, and by a miſtake of the ſpeaker, be aſcribed to him: which

Dr. *Can-*

Dr. *Cannon*, we all knew uſed to ſay, that " If he " had been a juſtice of peace in the days of *Abra-* " *ham*, and ſeen him about to offer up his ſon for " a ſacrifice, he would have laid him by the heels." I charged Dr. *Rundle* farther, that there was reaſon to ſuſpect he had learned that profaneneſs of Mr. *Chubb*'s pamphlet, or his converſation upon it. He reply'd, that Mr. *Chubb*'s pamphlet did not come out 'till a year or two after this converſation, whence aroſe the preſent imputation. In this I did not then believe him; but, upon my going home, I ſoon light upon the pamphlet itſelf, and found it was as Dr. *Rundle* ſaid. Whereupon I went again to Mr. *Venn*, and told him, that ſince this ſuſpicion of mine about Mr. *Chubb* proved groundleſs, I, who had known Dr. *Rundle* ſo many years, knew no reaſon for any ſuch ſuſpicion upon him: which I alſo went and told my old and faithful advocate Dr. *Paul*; and aſſured him that there ſeem'd to be no ſufficient reaſon for Mr. *Venn*'s accuſation, or for Dr. *Rundle*'s rejection upon that account.

And now having given ſome account of ſeveral of our preſent biſhops, and almoſt all of them political biſhops alſo, who ſpend ſo much of their time, not in their own dioceſes, where they ought both to live and die, but in the capital city, and in parliament: it may be worth our while to take ſome notice how little good they do there, either to learning, morality, or religion; they being too well known to be little better than tools of the court, to merit better biſhopricks, by voting as they are directed; which they ſeldom fail to do. Yet has there lately been two caſes, when the buſineſs they were to do was ſo prodigiouſly groſs, one of which was the laſt gin bill, (which gin is, by one of the beſt judges, eſtimated to kill no fewer than 100,000 poor people in *Europe* every

every year, and, by ſome examples that I have known, I deem that eſtimation not very extravagant) that not one ſingle biſhop could be prevailed on to vote for it: nay, ſome of them were ſo unuſually bold, as to ſpeak againſt it. Now what was the conſequence of this unanimous oppoſition? why the bill went through the houſe of lords notwithſtanding; and ſtands as an act of parliament, aſſented to by the *lords ſpiritual*, as well as *temporal*, at this day. Which thing puts me in mind of an anſwer the lord *Carteret* made ſometime ſince to biſhop *Hare*, who, when he complained of the hard words that lord had given ſome of the biſhops in a ſpeech in the houſe of lords, put him in mind, that his lordſhip might one day be a miniſter of ſtate himſelf, and might then want the biſhops votes. This lord replied, "If I want you, I "know how to have you." The meaning of which words are eaſily underſtood, without a comment. In ſhort, I cannot but eſteem biſhops in the houſe of lords to be the very greateſt grievance of *chriſtianity* now in theſe kingdoms, and utterly contrary to the laws of the goſpel. See my *Chriſtian Diſcipline*, page 62.

I now come to Mr. *Chubb* of *Sarum*, already mentioned, who, from one of the moſt judicious *chriſtians*, without a learned education, that I had then met with, when he publiſhed, or rather I publiſhed for him, his *Eight Arguments on the Supremacy of the Father*, *A. D.* 1714. ſeems to have degenerated into the directly oppoſite character of one of the moſt fooliſh and injudicious of our modern unbelievers, as a compariſon of his *firſt* and *laſt* books will demonſtrate: and ſince I was the perſon who introduc'd him into our ſociety for *promoting primitive chriſtianity*, and took care of the correcting the forementioned firſt and beſt book that ever he wrote; and beſides introduced him into the favour

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and family of Sir *Joſeph Jekyl*, who allow'd him an annual ſalary; and when I thought myſelf obliged to inform Sir *Joſeph* afterward, that he was become a ſceptick, and to caution him againſt procuring himſelf a blot, by openly ſupporting him; (tho' I never deſired him to diminiſh his aſſiſtance to him in private:) he was not willing to believe my repreſentation; which yet time has too certainly verified. Since, I ſay, this is the caſe, I think myſelf greatly obliged to give ſome account of him, for the ſatisfaction of the publick, and of poſterity, who may light upon his pamphlets, which are become very common. Now it happened that ſome years after the publication of his *Eight Arguments*, about 1717, or 1718, I was informed that Mr. *Chubb* was becoming a *Socinian*, at the ſame time that he owned that the *New Teſtament* favoured thoſe called *Arians*, which, indeed, he had fully demonſtrated in his firſt book. Upon this, I wrote him a friendly letter, which I cannot find any copy of; it contain'd a caution, and a prediction, that he would turn a *ſceptick*; which his anſwer did by no means clear; and which his later writings too fully juſtify.

It was not, I think, very long after theſe letters, that I was informed, that what I foreboded, proved true; and that Mr. *Chubb* was become a great *ſceptick*, not only in revealed, but in natural religion alſo; and had written againſt mens obligations to *pray to God*, as what could not be juſtified by reaſon; tho' he did not then diſown the obligation to *thankſgiving* for mercies received; tho' I imagine a very little alteration in a train of thoughts, might as well have determined *for prayer*, and *againſt thankſgiving*. I never ſaw this pamphlet of Mr. *Chubb*'s myſelf, that I can remember, for I think it was never printed; but had this account from Mr. *Thomas Emlyn*, who

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ſaw it. About this time alſo it was, I ſuppoſe, that he wrote his *Previous Queſtion*, againſt the morality of that moſt eminent act of obedience in *Abraham*, when he went to offer his ſon *Iſaac* as a ſacrifice to God. This pamphlet gave me the occaſion of writing a ſhort treatiſe, *Concerning God's Command to* Abraham *to offer up* Iſaac *his Son for a Sacrifice:* which I afterward made the third diſſertation prefixed to my *Engliſh Joſephus*, and which I found gave great ſatisfaction to the inquiſitive; for it was chiefly Mr. *Chubb* that I had in view, when I ſaid near its beginning, that "This "command is become *a ſtone of ſtumbling*, *and a* "*rock of offence* among us; and that ſometimes "to perſons of otherwiſe good ſenſe, and of a reli-"gious diſpoſition of mind alſo." But as to Mr. *Chubb*'s later writings, I perceive they are ſo wild and extravagant, that I ſhall ſay nothing more about them; but put men rather in mind of the words of a wiſer man than either he, or any of his followers, which I recommended to him before, in the forementioned diſſertation; I mean Solomon: *Truſt in the Lord with all thine heart, and lean not to thine own underſtanding. In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he ſhall direct thy paths. Be not wiſe in thine own eyes.* Prov. iii. 5, 6, 7. Nor are the late wild writings of Dr. *Morgan*, and Mr. *Elwall*, conſiderable enough to deſerve a place in this account; nor was I ſo deeply concerned about them myſelf, as to require me to purſue this digreſſion any farther on their account; only ſo far, that I think thoſe who preach or write operouſly againſt ſuch as thoſe, do them a great deal too much honour. If they can fully prove any of the prophecies or miracles, by which the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* religion are ſupported to be falſe, they ought to be heard; but while that is not pretended to, *Nicodemus*'s words to *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, are ſo perfectly

fectly agreeable to common ſenſe, and the light of nature, that all pretences to the contrary are abſurd and unreaſonable, in the higheſt degree, *Rabbi, We know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no one can do the miracles which thou doſt, except God be with him.* John iii. 2.

N. B. It deſerves greatly to be obſerved, that abating the preſent miſchief our modern writers againſt the *Chriſtian* religion do to the weak and wicked part of this fooliſh age wherein we live, they at the upſhot have mightily tended to ſtrengthen and ſupport it, by affording occaſion for the truly learned to examine its foundation deeper than they had formerly done. Thus Mr. *Chubb*'s pamphlet againſt *Abraham's offering up Iſaac*, gave me, as I have already ſaid, occaſion of fully clearing that matter, in my diſſertation thereto relating: thus Mr. *Collins's Grounds and Reaſons*, which pretended to prove that *Chriſt* and his apoſtles depended on double ſenſes of prophecies, occaſioned my diſcovery, that no ſuch double ſenſes were heard of till the fourth century of *Chriſtianity*. The ſame book occaſioned me to write that ſheet of *Propoſal*, which demonſtrated, that almoſt all Mr. *Collins*'s aſſertions in oppoſition to the *Bible* were utterly groundleſs and indefenſible: and the like might be obſerv'd of almoſt all the other pamphlets written againſt *Chriſtianity*, in this and the laſt age. Nor indeed, as I verily hope, will all the other follies, and enthuſiaſms, and diſorders, of the preſent churches and parties, end in any thing elſe at laſt, than in ſober perſons, of all perſuaſions, laying aſide their ſeveral peculiarities in religion, and uniting in truly *Primitive Chriſtianity*, as it ſtands in all the original records of the goſpel; and principally in the apoſtolical con-

conſtitutions; which, if it pleaſe God, may I myſelf live to ſee alſo. *Amen.*

In 1716, I publiſhed *An Account of a ſurprizing Meteor* [*or Northern Light,*] ſeen in the air, *March* 6, 1715-16, at night; containing,

I. *A Deſcription of this Meteor from the Author's own Obſervations.*
II. *Some hiſtorical Accounts of the like Meteors before; with Extracts from ſuch Letters and Accounts of this as the Author has receiv'd.*
III. *The Principal Phænomena of this Meteor.*
IV. *Conjectures for their Solution.*
V. *Reaſons why our Solutions are ſo imperfect.*
VI. *Inferences and Obſervations from the Premiſes,* 8*vo.* Price 6*d.*

N. B. Whatever hypotheſes have been thought of about theſe *Meteors* or *Northern Lights*, none do pretend to give any ſure account why they were for above 20 years together ſo much more frequent than in former ages; which fact I know to be undeniable. However, the uſual, if not conſtant direction of the line thro' the middle of the baſes of theſe ſteams, of about 15° or 16° weſtward from the north, as all horizontal magnetick needles do here decline at this time: and the center of their cupola, when compleat, uſually, if not conſtantly reclining ſouthward nearly as much from the vertex, as all the magnetick meridians in *England* do, ſeem evidently to imply, that they are no other than *magnetick effluvia* that occaſion them. Tho' how the particular mechanical cauſes or circumſtances thereof do at preſent act, in their production, is not known. Dr. *Halley* imagined, that one ſide of each particle was light, and the other dark, and the light part was ſtill toward the ſouth; but could give no probable

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cauſe of ſuch a diverſity and poſition, and ſo could afford us no real ſatisfaction.

In this year, 1716, I publiſhed *An humble and ſerious Addreſs to the Princes and States of* Europe, *for the Admiſſion, or, at leaſt, open Toleration of the Chriſtian Religion in their Dominions*, 8vo. Price 1*s*.

N. B. Tho' this pamphlet has now been publiſhed above 30 years, yet has it been hitherto without a reply. And the reaſon is, becauſe what doubts ſoever may be moved, whether *Clement* of *Rome* wrote the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, the only books that pretend to be an entire original ſyſtem of the chriſtian religion, from the mouths of the apoſtles, at their five ſynods or councils, which I take to be the plain truth of the caſe; yet it is undeniable that they contain an authentick account of the worſhip, diſcipline, and inſtitutions of the goſpel of CHRIST, and of the whole chriſtian oeconomy, both for faith and practice, as they were left by the apoſtles, and their companions, in the latter end of the firſt, and former part of the ſecond century, till the martyrdoms of *Ignatius*, *Juſtin Martyr*, and *Polycarp*. Which is moſt evident in even the bare notes of *Coterelius* themſelves; which I remember to have heard Dr. *Grabe* call *Aureæ Notæ*, *Golden Notes*; as well as more fully in my *Third Volume of Primitive Chriſtianity reviv'd*, and other later writings; as alſo in Mr. *Baratier*'s vindication of them, out of *Epiphanius* himſelf; who directly atteſts that they certainly contained the genuine laws of chriſtianity.

It may not be amiſs to take notice here of the conſolation I uſed to receive by *Milton*'s character of the ſeraph *Abdiel*, who was the *only one* of the innumerable wicked crew of inviſible beings who

continued obedient to GOD and his MESSIAH, when all the reſt fell: it ſo near fitting my caſe, who have almoſt alone attempted to reſtore primitive chriſtianity, when the reſt of my fellow-labourers ſeemed to give it up, and to content themſelves with the hopes of getting rid of the *Athanaſian* hereſy only; that I could not but frequently ſolace myſelf with it: which, with due allowance for human frailty in the application, ſhall be here all ſet down *verbatim:*

So ſpake the ſeraph *Abdiel*; faithful found
Among the faithleſs; faithful only he.
Among innumerable falſe, unmov'd,
Unſhaken, unſeduc'd, unterrify'd,
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal.

Nor number, nor example with him wrought,
To ſwerve from truth, or change his conſtant mind;

Tho' ſingle.

The friendly powers, do him receive
With joy and acclamations loud, that one;
That of ſo many myriads fallen yet one
Return'd, not loſt. On to the ſacred hill
They led him, high applauded; and preſent
Before the ſeat ſupreme. From whence a voice,
From midſt a golden cloud, thus mild was heard:
Servant of God, well done: well haſt thou fought
The better fight; who ſingle haſt maintain'd
Againſt revolted multitudes the cauſe
Of truth; in word mightier than they in arms:
And for the teſtimony of truth haſt born
Univerſal reproach, far worſe to bear
Than violence. For this was all thy care
To ſtand approv'd in ſight of God, tho' worlds
Judg'd thee perverſe.

Which

Which laſt unſpeakable reward of all my honeſt, tho' imperfect endeavours, I have long uſed for the reſtoration of this moſt deſirable thing, truly *primitive chriſtianity*, may our Saviour allot me at the great day. *Amen! Amen!*

In the year 1717, I publiſhed *Aſtronomical Principles of Religion*, natural and reveal'd. In 9 parts.

I. Lemmata, *or the Known Laws of Matter and Motion.*

II. *A particular Account of the Syſtem of the Univerſe.*

III. *The Truth of that Syſtem briefly demonſtrated.*

IV. *Certain Obſervations drawn from that Syſtem.*

V. *Probable Conjectures of the Nature and Uſes of the ſeveral Celeſtial Bodies, contained in the ſame Syſtem.*

VI. *Important Principles of Natural Religion, demonſtrated from the foregoing certain Obſervations.*

VII. *Important Principles of Divine Revelation, confirmed from the foregoing probable Conjectures.*

VIII. *Such Inferences, ſhewn to be the common Voice of Nature and Reaſon; from the Teſtimonies of the moſt conſiderable Perſons in all Ages.*

IX. *A Recapitulation of the whole; with a large and ſerious* Addreſs *to all, eſpecially to the Scepticks and Unbelievers of our Age.*

Together with a Preface, *of the Temper of Mind neceſſary for the Diſcovery of Divine Truth: And of the Degree of Evidence that ought to be expected in Divine Matters*, 8vo. Price 5*s*. The ſecond edition was printed in 1725.

In the ſame year, 1717, I improved ſome hints I had preſerved ever ſince I was a member of the univerſity of *Cambridge*, and, in particular, when I was fellow of *Clare Hall* there, under the titles of *Emendanda in Academia*; *& Emendanda in Collegio*; and preſented them to ſeveral of my friends, who were moſt likely to have it in their power to promote a reformation. Thoſe about the *college* I have not preſerv'd, and ſo can ſay no more concerning them. But the others were preſerv'd, and very well received by my friends: the emendations were agreed to be in general very right and good; while yet none of them put forward towards the reduction of them into practice. They have been already ſet down.

In *Auguſt*, this year, 1717, I drew up a very ſmall paper, containing a *ſketch* of my reaſons for that opinion I had long embrac'd, and intimated to the world, againſt the eternity of hell-torments, in my *Reaſon and Philoſophy no Enemies to Faith*; which was a branch of my *Sermons* and *Eſſays*, publiſhed *A. D.* 1609. page 219, 220, 221. But ſince I vaſtly enlarged thoſe reaſons, and publiſh'd a diſtinct *pamphlet* upon that ſubject afterward, of which mention will be made in due place hereafter, I ſay no more about it in this place; only that Dr. *Lee*, in his excellent *Expoſition of the Seven Viſions of* Eſdras, which I read over more than once, in manuſcript, long ago, and which are now in Mr. *Law*'s hands, is clearly of the ſame opinion; and blames our later divines for their raſhneſs in that matter.

About this year, 1717, I was deſired by a learned *Frenchman*, Monſ. *La Roch*, to draw him up, myſelf, ſuch an *Epitome* of my *New Theory of the Earth*, as he might tranſlate and inſert into his French *Bibliotheque Angloiſe*; which, at his deſire, I did accordingly. This *Epitome* is the IVth article

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of the ſecond part of his third *tome* for 1718, page 410, 441. It is alſo added as an *Appendix* to the fifth edition of my *New Theory*, in *Engliſh*.

About the ſame year, 1717, it was that I peruſed that admirable book of Monſ. *Renaudot*'s, ſtyled, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, 4*to*, 2 vol. Price 30*s*. Printed at *Paris*, 1716. The extracts that I made out of it are publiſhed in my *Primitive Euchariſt Reviv'd*.

In this year, 1717, I publiſhed my *Scripture Politicks*, or, *An impartial Account of the Origin and Meaſures of Government, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil*, taken out of the books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*; with a *Poſtſcript*, relating to the report of the committee of convocation about the biſhop of *Bangor*'s *Preſervative*, and *Sermon* before king *George* I. To which is ſubjoined, *The Suppoſal*; or, *New Scheme of Government*; firſt publiſhed *A. D.* 1712, as before mentioned, and now re-printed, 8vo. Price 2*s*.

In the year 1718, I re-publiſhed the account of my *Proſecution* and *Eariſtment* from the univerſity of *Cambridge*. This was, at firſt, added at the end of my *Hiſtorical Preface*, 1711; but was at this time re-printed, on occaſion of Dr. *Bentley*'s proſecution, ſuſpenſion, and deprivation of his degree, at *Cambridge*, which it was hoped might have occaſioned a review of mine, as well as his cenſures, by a ſuperior authority; but all in vain. With an *Appendix*, containing a farther account of my caſe; and, particularly, my petition to the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges, after they had choſen a new profeſſor, for a third part of the ſalary; which the ſtatutes of my foundation fairly permitted, if not required, (which ſtatutes are exhibited at large) but which was denied me. Never before printed, 8vo. Price 6*d*.

This year, 1718, alſo, I carefully reviſed, improved, and publiſhed, a ſmall *pamphlet*, which was originally written by my own brother, Mr. *Daniel Whiſton*, as has been already noted, page 13. Its title was this: *A Primitive Catechiſm*, by way of queſtion and anſwer. In two parts. The one for the *Catechumens*, the other for the *Illuminates*. Uſeful for charity-ſchools. With the texts proper for the proof of the ſeveral anſwers. And, *note*, that as the preſent edition was a little defective in the account of the *Euchariſt* or *Lord's-Supper*, it muſt be hereafter ſupplied from my own improved copy, page 97, 98; and the pages after 56 are to be corrected.

N. B. It is this *Primitive Catechiſm* upon the want of the *Doctrine of the Apoſtles*, which I ever make uſe of for the inſtruction before baptiſm, in ſuch as have not yet been baptized; and before confirmation and communion to thoſe that have only been baptized, but not confirmed; (for I have never ventured to rebaptize any.) Accordingly, when I, about ſeven years ago, ſupported a charity ſchool of 10 boys and 10 girls, by my own and ſome friends contributions, for two years and an half, I went, at leaſt, one day every week, to hear them repeat, and explain to them the *Epitome* of this *Primitive Catechiſm*, which is at the end, and to uſe the collects out of our *Liturgy*, which were appointed for their morning and evening worſhip. Other catechiſms inſtruct children in the doctrines and duties of that party that compoſed them; but this inſtructs them in the doctrines and duties of *Primitive Chriſtianity*, without regard to any party whatſoever, being all taken out of the *Bible*, or the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*. Nor is there, that I know of, any party of men now among *Chriſtians*, excepting the Socinians, but what agree to almoſt every thing in that catechiſm.

In

In the next year, 1719, I publiſhed *A Letter of Thanks to the Biſhop of* London, [Robinſon] *for his late Letter to his Clergy, againſt the Uſe of New Forms of Doxology*, 8vo. Price 4 *d.*

N. B. The groſſneſs of biſhop *Robinſon*'s Ignorance in the old doxologies, tempted me to do a thing here that I never did before, nor ſince; I mean expoſing him in a way of banter or ridicule, and ſo cutting him with great ſharpneſs: which, tho' he highly deſerved, yet was it perhaps, a little unfit for me to do; as ſays *Terence*; *Dignus ille contumeliis eſt vel maxime: Indignus tu qui faceres tamen.* However, I deſire this letter may ſtill be publiſhed as it was written, with this additional defence, which I made for myſelf, when the late queen blamed me for what I had done, *viz.* When the biſhop will beg St. *Paul*'s and St. *Peter*'s, *&c.* pardon, [for calling their doxologies *New and Heretical Doxologies*] I will beg his pardon: which was owned by her majeſty for a juſt and equitable propoſal.

Upon my publication of this *Letter of Thanks* to the biſhop of *London*, happened Dr. *Sacheverell*'s attempt to exclude me from St. *Andrew*'s, which was then my pariſh church; at which time I publiſhed my *Account of Dr.* Sacheverell's *Proceedings, in order to exclude me from St.* Andrew's *Church in* Holborn: which is added to the collection of my ſmall pamphlets.

N. B. I was at this time deſired by a lawyer, that did not love Dr. *Sacheverell*, to give him leave to proſecute him, for this inſult upon me in a church; promiſing it ſhould coſt me nothing. To which propoſal I utterly refuſed to give my conſent; and told him, "If I ſhould give my conſent, I "ſhould ſhew myſelf to be as fooliſh and paſſionate "as the doctor himſelf."

The same year, 1719, I published a *Second Letter* to the lord bishop of *London*, concerning the *Primitive Doxologies*; wherein the *Seasonable Review* of my account of them is considered, 8vo. Price 6*d*.

In the same year, 1719, I published *An Account of a surprizing Meteor*, seen in the air *March* 19, 1718-19, at night: containing,

I. *A Description of this Meteor, from the original Letters of those who saw it at different Places.*
II. *Some Historical Accounts of the like Meteors before.*
III. *A Demonstration that such Meteors are not Comets.*
IV. *That such Meteors are not a Concourse of Vapours above our Atmosphere.*
V. *That they are prodigious Blasts of Thunder and Lightning, in the upper Regions of our Air.*
VI. *Observations from the whole.*

In the second edition was added, *A Vindication of this Account*, from the different account given of this Meteor by Dr. *Halley*, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, N° 363. 8vo. Price of both mine together 6*d*.

In the same year, 1719, I published a commentary on the *Three Catholick Epistles of St. John*; in agreement with the ancientest records now extant, 8vo. Price 2*s*.

In the same year, 1719, I published a letter to the earl of *Nottingham*, concerning the *Eternity of the Son of God, and his Holy Spirit*. In the second and following editions, I prefixed a *Reply* to the lord *Nottingham*'s *Answer*, (which was published 1721)

1721) in a large preface: and thereto I added *Athanaſian Confeſſions*, that the *Antenicene* writers were againſt the *Athanaſian*, and for the *Euſebian* doctrine, 8vo. Price together, 2*s.*

N. B. My lord of *Nottingham* was highly complimented by the addreſſes of the two univerſities, and of the *London* clergy, upon his anſwer to this pamphlet of mine. Yet, when upon my *Reply*, the earl could anſwer no more, neither did any member of either univerſity, nor any of the clergy of *London*, nor even Dr. *Waterland* himſelf, pretend to vindicate him afterward. But what I myſelf thought of the earl's performance, the reader has found in my long letter to archbiſhop *Wake*, already ſet down.

About this time, 1720, I printed and gave away, to ſome of my mathematical friends, a few copies of a ſmall imperfect *Eſſay on a Diſcovery of the Longitude by the Dipping Needle.* But becauſe I afterward made many and great improvements in that matter, and publiſhed the whole in a much larger treatiſe, a year or two afterward, upon that ſubject; of which preſently; I drop this firſt eſſay intirely.

In the ſame year, 1720, I publiſhed a pamphlet, intitled, *The true Origin of the* Sabellian *and* Athanaſian *Doctrines of the Trinity*; or, a demonſtration that they were firſt broach'd by the followers of *Simon Magus*, in the firſt century, and reviv'd by the *Montaniſts* in the ſecond; drawn from all the original accounts now extant, and humbly recommended to the conſideration of *Dr. Waterland*, 8vo. Price 1*s.*

On or about the ſame year, 1720, I take it to have been, that I was refuſed to be admitted a member of the royal ſociety, by Sir *Iſaac Newton:* the caſe was this; Sir *Hans Sloane*, and Dr. *Edmund*

Edmund Halley, and myſelf, were once together at *Child*'s coffee-houſe, in St. *Paul*'s *Church-Yard*, and Dr. *Halley* aſked me, Why I was not a member of that ſociety? I anſwered, becauſe they durſt not chooſe an *Heretick*. Upon which Dr. *Halley* ſaid to Sir *Hans Sloane*, that if he would propoſe me, he would ſecond it: which was done accordingly. When Sir *Iſaac Newton*, the preſident, heard this, he was greatly concern'd; and, by what I then learn'd, cloſeted ſome of the members, in order to get clear of me; and told them, that if I was choſen a member, he would not be preſident. Whereupon, by a pretence of deficiency in the form of proceeding, the propoſal was dropp'd, I not inſiſting upon it. Nay, as ſoon as I was informed of Sir *Iſaac*'s uneaſineſs, I told his boſom friend, Dr. *Clarke*, that had I known his mind, I would have done nothing that might bring that great man's *grey hairs with ſorrow to the grave:* Nor has that ſociety ever refuſed to let me come, and lay any of my papers or inſtruments before them, whenever I deſired it; without my being an actual member: which, conſidering my ſmall ability to pay the uſual ſums for admiſſion, and annual dues, was almoſt as agreeable to me as being a conſtant member. Now if the reader deſires to know the reaſon of Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s unwillingneſs to have me a member, he muſt take notice, that as his making me firſt his deputy, and giving me the full profits of the place, brought me to be a candidate, as his recommendation of me to the heads of colleges in *Cambridge*, made me his ſucceſſor; ſo did I enjoy a large portion of his favour for twenty years together. But he then perceiving that I could not do as his other darling friends did, that is, learn of him, without contradicting him, when I differed in opinion from him, he could not, in his old age, bear ſuch contradiction; and ſo he was afraid of me the laſt

laſt thirteen years of his life. See my *Authentick Records*, page 1070, 1071. He was of the moſt fearful, cautious, and ſuſpicious temper, that I ever knew: and had he been alive when I wrote againſt his chronology, and ſo throughly confuted it, that no-body has ever ventured to vindicate it, that I know of, ſince my confutation was publiſhed, I ſhould not have thought proper to publiſh it during his life-time; becauſe I knew his temper ſo well, that I ſhould have expected it would have killed him. As Dr. *Bentley*, Bp. *Stillingfleet*'s chaplain told me, that he believ'd Mr. *Lock*'s thorough confutation of the biſhop's metaphyſicks about the Trinity, haſtened his end alſo.

About the year 1720, it was, that I walked to *Burntwood* in *Eſſex*, where I found my excellent and pious friend, and fellow-ſufferer for religion, Mr. *Martin Tomkins*, who had been lately expell'd by his *Diſſenting* congregation at *Newington*, on ſuſpicion of the *Arian Hereſy*, as I had been from *Cambridge* long before. He was the author of that remarkable and good-natur'd *Appeal to a* Turk *or an* Indian, about the *Athanaſian* doctrine of the Trinity; which greatly moved good Dr. *Watts*, who had before written for it; and the late edition of which has, I believe, intirely cooled Dr. *Watts*, and all his friends zeal in that controverſy. My friend lodged with Mr. *Barber*, the then *Diſſenting* miniſter at *Burntwood*, who invited him ſometimes to preach for him there. The reaſon of my introducing Mr. *Barber* into theſe memoirs is this. One of Mr. *Barber*'s anceſtors, in the days of bloody queen *Mary*, was become a *Proteſtant*, and was condemned to be burnt in *Smithfield*; the faggots were accordingly laid about the ſtake, to which poor Mr. *Barber* was tied, and were about to be ſet on fire, when the news came that queen *Mary* was dead; upon which all knew that her ſiſter *Elizabeth* was to ſucceed:

ſucceed: this took away all the power of ſuch officers as were to ſee the execution, and ſaved Mr. *Barber*. In memory of which moſt providential delivery, Mr. *Barber* had a picture of queen *Elizabeth*, that ſaved him, made, with ornaments about it; and, as he ſaid, "He hoped Almighty "God would accept of this his will for the deed, "and allow him to be a martyr for religion." So he ordered, by his will, that the ſame image ſhould be tranſmitted down, in the eldeſt branch of his family, for a memorial to all generations; and there it is preſerved to this day. When I was there, I either did not know of it, or quite forgot to deſire to ſee it. Nor did I ever remember to inform queen *Caroline* of it, or procure her the ſight of it, as it highly deſerved; it being, in my opinion, a nobler monument to the honour of that family, than any monument of the military atchievements of *Alexander* the Great, or *Julius Cæſar*, or the like murderers of men, could be of theirs. Mr. *Fox* having omitted this moſt eminent caſe of a proteſtant martyrdom, I thought it by no means improper to preſerve it in this place.

About this or the next year, upon the death of Mr. *Flamſteed*, which I did not hear of till two or three days afterward, my friends would needs perſuade me to put in for that place; as requiring no ſubſcriptions againſt my conſcience, tho' ſomewhat againſt my inclination, as rather too old to begin aſtronomical obſervations, and not having mechanical accuracy, nor the ſharpneſs of ſight, which were requiſite thereto. However, I went to my very valuable friend and patron, the then lord chancellor *Parker*, and ſpake to him about it. His anſwer was, that he was ſorry that I came ſo late; for he had ſpoken already to the king for Dr. *Halley*. Whereupon, to make me eaſy, and ſhew his great kindneſs to me, he preſented me with a roll of fifty guineas;

guineas; highly to my ſatisfaction: Nor could I avoid my acknowledgments here for that, and his other generous benefactions to me.

In the year 1721, I publiſhed *The Longitude and Latitude found by the Inclinitary or Dipping Needle:* wherein the laws of magnetiſm are alſo diſcovered. To which is prefixed an *Hiſtorical Preface:* and to which is ſubjoin'd Mr. *Robert Norman's New Attractive*; or, *Account of the firſt Invention of the Dipping Needle.* Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

N. B. After the publication of this treatiſe, I found ſo much encouragement from many benefactors, that I was enabled to procure ſome new obſervations of the angle of dip in ſeveral parts of the world, in order to perfect this diſcovery; the ſubſtance of which is printed at the end of my *Calculation of Eclipſes, without Parallaxes*; of which preſently. Which upon the whole coſt me a very great deal of pains, to contrive the inſtruments, and hang them in ſhips, ſo as to take the dip, with an exactneſs ſufficient for my purpoſe; but found the power of magnetiſm ſo very weak, and the concuſſion of a ſhip ſo very troubleſome, that I had little hopes of ſucceeding. And when I knew of Mr. *George Graham*'s new diſcovery of an *Horary* uncertain *Inequality*, as I may call it, both in the variation and dip of magnetick needles, in N° 383 of the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, and this as far as half or two thirds of a degree, if not ſometimes of a whole degree (which laſt quantity I once obſerv'd myſelf in a dipping needle of my own, of almoſt four feet long, in the ſpace of eight hours) I perceived that all my labour was in vain, and I was obliged to drop that deſign intirely.

In the latter part of *Auguſt*, and the former part of *September*, this year, 1721, I tranſlated the

pſalms

pſalms of *David* into *Engliſh*, from the beſt copy now known in the world, which is evidently that in the *Roman Pſalter:* which almoſt always agrees with the ſeptuagint verſion; but is ſtill ſomewhat more correct, and more agreeable to the oldeſt quotations. This has not yet been printed; but ought to be not only printed, but uſed in all our churches, inſtead of our other more imperfect copies and verſions. The *Prefaces* alſo to the pſalms themſelves ought to be taken out of my *Authentick Records*, page 795—845, and prefixed to each pſalm, in a new edition.

In the latter part of this year, 1721, a large ſubſcription was made for the ſupport of my family, and for the carrying on my diſcovery of the longitude by the dipping needle. It is dated *November* 20, 1721; and ought to be here exhibited, as a memorial of the publick ſpirited men, and my particular friends at that time: and was, by far, the greateſt ſum that was ever put into my hands, by my friends, excepting the 500 *l.* for the ſurvey of our coaſts, which yet did not pay the diſburſements for which it was allotted: of which in my *Hiſtorical Preface* to the longitude diſcovered by *Jupiter's* planets, *Preface*, page 60.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
King *George* I. ——	100	0	0
Deduct the Treaſury Officers Abatements, ——	11	1	6
Received ——	88	18	6
The Prince of *Wales*, ——	50	0	0
The Princeſs of *Wales*, ——	31	10	0
The Lord Chancellor *Parker*,	21	10	0
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Carried over, ——	212	18	6

Brought

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over,	212	18	6
Maſter of the Rolls Sir. *J. Jekyll*,	31	10	0
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Mr. *Cartwright*,	10	10	0
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Mr. *Hedges*,	10	10	0
Mr. *Weſtern*,	10	10	0
Col. *Wyndham*,	10	10	0
Lord *Paiſley* (a *Terrella*,)	5	5	0
Dr. *Crow*,	10	10	0
Sir *George Markham*,	10	10	0
Duke of *Montague*,	21	0	0
Lord *Iſlay*,	10	10	0
Mr. *Edgcome*,	10	10	0
Earl of *Derby*,	10	10	0
Mr. *Ward*,	10	10	0
Mr. *Sanbroke*,	5	5	0
Mr. *Folkes*,	5	5	0
Mr. *Thompſon*,	5	5	0
Mr. *Edwards*,	5	5	0
Mr. *Parker*,	5	5	0
Mr. *Anſon*,	5	5	0
Mr. *Nailor*,	5	5	0
Mr. *Archer*,	5	5	0
Sir *John Guiſe*,	5	5	0
Duke of *Kent*,	5	5	0
Sum total,	470	3	6

About the end of this year, 1721, by the leave of the editor Mr. *Tickell*, as well as the bookſeller Mr. *Tonſon*, I collected the ſeveral ancient teſtimonies, refer'd to by my great friend Mr. *Addiſon*, in his poſthumous excellent, but unfiniſh'd diſcourſe of the *Chriſtian Religion*: which teſtimonies could not be found among his papers, after his death, by the editor. This collection I made new myſelf, and left

left it with the bookſeller, Mr. *Tonſon*, both in their originals; and in *Engliſh*, to be added in the future editions of that diſcourſe, as well as to be printed by themſelves, for the uſe of thoſe that had the former edition, tho' neither he nor his family have yet publiſhed it, in theſe twenty-ſeven years time, to the diſappointment of myſelf, and all inquiſitive readers, who cannot but take it very ill from them; nor have I kept any copy of them myſelf. So that if Mr. *Tonſon* ſuppreſſes that paper, or has loſt it, it is intirely loſt both to me and to the publick.

However, I having preſerved an account procured from a *Jewiſh* Rabbi, upon this occaſion, which is hinted at by Mr. *Addiſon*, ſect. viii. §. 6. concerning the diſappointment of the *Jews*, under *Julian* the apoſtate, as to their rebuilding their temple at *Jeruſalem*; [of which ſee my *Thundering Legion*, page 42.] I here produce it.

In the days of Rabbi *Jehoſhua*, the ſon of *Hananias*, the emperor [*Julian*] commanded that the temple ſhould be rebuilt. Now *Papus* and *Julian* had prepared a very plentiful table for the *Jews*, who came out of their captivity, (to help the work forward) from *Hako* to *Antioch*. But the *Cutheans*, or *Samaritans*, affirm'd to the emperor, that if *Jeruſalem* ſhould be reſtor'd, the *Jews* would pay no more tribute, and would thenceforward rebel againſt him. To whom the emperor ſaid, "How "can I leave off this my attempt, after I have pub-"liſhed my orders for it?" To which the *Samaritans* replied; "Sir, do but then give order that they change "the place of the former temple, or elſe, that it be "enlarged or diminiſhed ſome five cubits. This will "make them leave off their work without any ne-"ceſſity of compulſion." This advice the emperor agreed to, and accordingly he ſent ſuch freſh orders to the *Jews*, when they were gathered together in the

the valley of *Betrimon*; upon the hearing of which they burſt out into tears plentifully; and being in a furious rage, they talked of a rebellion; but their great men being exceedingly affrighted at the conſequences of a rebellion, begged of Rabbi *Jehoſhua*, that he would make a ſpeech to the people, and endeavour to perſuade them to a peaceable behaviour; which he did by the fable following: There was a lion who was in great diſtreſs by a piece of a bone that ſtuck in his throat; he promiſed a great reward to any one that could get that troubleſome bone out of his throat. A crane came to him and got the bone out of his throat, and aſked for the reward; to whom the lion made this anſwer, glory in this, as a privilege of thine, that thou haſt entered into the lion's mouth in ſafety, and art got out of it in ſafety. So my brethren, ſays the Rabbi, let us be contented that we are come under the power of this nation in ſafety, and let us go out of it in ſafety.

Theſe are the words in *Bereſit Rabba*, faithfully tranſlated from the end of chap. 64. This happened about the year from the creation 4833, according to Rabbi *David Ganz*, in his *Zemah David*, in the 27th leaf of my edition, and page 2d.

Rabbi *Gedaliah*, in *Shalſchelet Haccabbala*, aſſerts, that this temple, rebuilt at a great expence, fell down; and, that the next day, a great fire, from heaven, melted the tools that remained, and deſtroyed an innumerable multitude of *Jews*. *Baſnage*'s hiſtory of the *Jews*, p. 547.

Upon occaſion of the mention of this perſon, Mr. *Addiſon*, who was excellent every way, as a traveller, as a proſe writer, and as a poet, who was my particular friend; and who, with his friend Sir *Richard Steel*, brought me, upon my baniſhment from *Cambridge*, to have many aſtronomical lectures at Mr. *Button*'s coffee-houſe,

near *Covent-Garden*, to the agreeable entertainment of a good number of curious perſons, and the procuring me and my family ſome comfortable ſupport under my baniſhment. It may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething concerning them both; with a few words concerning my principal auditor there, the lord *Stanhope*, alſo. As for Mr. *Addiſon* himſelf (whoſe father, when dean of *Litchfield*, laid his hands on me as a preſbyter, at my ordination, 1694.) he was brought up at *Oxford*, with intention to take holy orders; and I have heard it ſaid, that the *Saturday*'s papers, in his famous *Spectator*, which are generally on religious ſubjects, were intended originally for ſermons, when he ſhould be in holy orders. However, his parts appeared ſo promiſing to the lord *Hallifax*, and lord chancellor *Somers*, that they diverted him from his purpoſe, and procured him 400*l.* a year of king *William*, to enable him to improve himſelf by travelling: which when he had accompliſhed, he was at laſt made ſecretary of ſtate. Yet did he retain ſuch a great regard to the chriſtian religion, that he began to read the ancient fathers of the three firſt centuries, before he died; and the laſt of them that I knew of his reading was *Juſtin Martyr*, the firſt of the heathen philoſophers, whoſe writings are now extant, that became a chriſtian, and a martyr: about which time of his life it was, I ſuppoſe, that he wrote his before-mentioned work on the chriſtian religion. Now not to enter farther into his life, as foreign to my preſent deſign, I ſhall only relate what I was concerned in myſelf; I mean my fruitleſs attempt to ſee him in his laſt ſickneſs: for when I was at that time paſſing to the queen at *Richmond*, by *Holland Houſe*, where I knew from the publick papers he was then ſick, and from which ſickneſs he was not likely to recover; I went up to the houſe, and deſired to ſee

him

my friend Mr. *Addiſon*; but the anſwer was, that the phyſicians had given order that no-body ſhould be admitted to ſee him: I replied, that notwithſtanding ſuch order, if he knew I was there, I believed he would ſee me; but I could not prevail; ſo I ſaw him not. As to Sir *Richard Steel*, he has given a character of me in his addreſs to the pope, but tis too ludicrous to appear in this place. Sir *Richard* was indeed eminent for wit; yet was he deſtitute of true wiſdom, in the whole conduct of his life: he wrote very well, but lived very ill: he was a chriſtian in principle, but not in practice: however, not to go too far out of my way in his character, I ſhall only ſet down one encounter I had with him at *Button*'s coffee-houſe, when he was a member of parliament, and had been making a ſpeech in the houſe of commons, in the days of king *George* I. to pleaſe the court, but againſt his own conſcience, for the *South-Sea* directors, then under the great diſgrace of the nation; and againſt which *South-Sea* ſcheme, he had before, for ſome time, written weekly papers, till he ſaw he could not recover his poſt of cenſor of the play-houſe, from which he had been turned out, which uſed to bring him ſome hundreds a year, without making ſuch a ſpeech. I accoſted him thus. They ſay, Sir *Richard*, you have been making a ſpeech in the houſe of commons, for the *South-Sea* directors. He replyed, they do ſay ſo. To which I anſwered, How does this agree with your former writing againſt that ſcheme? His rejoinder was this: Mr. *Whiſton*, you can walk on foot, and I cannot. Than which a truer or an acuter anſwer could not have been made by any body.

As to my principal hearer and friend, the lord *Stanhope*, I knew him well, and eſteemed him to be a perſon of uncommon natural probity. Yet after he had been ſometime a courtier, I freely aſked

him, whether he had been able to keep his integrity at court? To which he made me no reply; whence I concluded he had not been able to do it. For he would never tell me a lie. Which opinion is but too certainly confirmed by another paſſage, which I had from the beſt authority: it was this; lord *Stanhope* was once in company, but leaning on his arm, in a muſing poſture, ſeemed to take no notice of them. At laſt he ſtarted up, and in a kind of agony ſaid, well, I am now ſatisfied, that a man cannot ſet his foot over the threſhold of a court, but he muſt be as great a rogue as ever was hang'd at *Tyburn*. And tho' ſuch a ſaying may be eſteem'd ſufficiently extravagant, yet have I ſeen ſo few, or rather none at all, either of the clergy or laity, men or women, made better by a court, and its preferments, and ſo great a number utterly ruined thereby, as is very melancholy for a good man to think of. It puts me in mind of what that excellent preacher and liver biſhop *Fleetwood*, as I have been informed, ſaid upon the like occaſion. This good biſhop once came to the houſe of lords a little too early, and over-heard certain perſons debating this queſtion, Whether a courtier could be a *Chriſtian* or not? and when, at length, the company perceived he was there, they would needs have his opinion: he reply'd, He was no courtier, nor would determine that queſtion: but he acknowledged, that he had learned ſo much by their diſcourſe, that it was not very fit for a good *Chriſtian* to go to court. Had I been there, I ſhould probably have given the ſame reaſon that I had once a particular occaſion to give myſelf there alſo, *viz.* That the maxims of a court are againſt the maxims of *Chriſtianity*; the maxim of a court is this; that you muſt always ſay and do as the firſt miniſter would have you: The maxim of *Chriſtianity* is this; that you muſt always ſay and do

do according to your own judgment and conſcience. Yet alas! alas! all our preſent biſhops and deans, *&c.* are made by the court! *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!* But to proceed.

In this year, 1721, I publiſhed *A Chronological Table*, containing the *Hebrew*, *Phœnician*, *Egyptian*, and *Chaldean* antiquities, compar'd together, both before and after the deluge; from the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, *Joſephus*, *Sanchoniatho*, *Herodotus*, *Dicæarchus*, *Manetho*, *Eratoſthenes*, *Abidenus*, *Beroſus*, *Varro*, *Ptolemy* of *Mendes*, the *Egyptian* obeliſk, the *Parian* marble, and all the other original authors: begun by biſhop *Cumberland*, by me improved, and brought down to the æra of *Nabonaſſar*. Whence Dr. *Prideaux*, in his *Connexion of the Old and New Teſtament*, and Mr. *Marſhall*'s edition of biſhop *Lloyd's Chronological Tables*, carry on the ſeries 'till the times of *Chriſtianity*. In two large ſheets, price 2*s*. See *Collection of Authentick Records*, page 1011, 1041, 1055, 1068. and *Supplement to Literal Accompliſhment of Prophecies*, page 124, 125. and *Eſſay on the Old Teſtament*, *Appendix*, page 223, 224, 225. of which laſt immediately.

In the year 1722, I publiſhed *An Eſſay towards reſtoring the true Text of the Old Teſtament*, and for vindicating the *Citations* made thence in the *New Teſtament*. With a large *Appendix*. Containing, in the treatiſe itſelf, the following propoſitions.

I. The preſent text of the *Old Teſtament* is, generally ſpeaking, both in the hiſtory, the laws, the prophecies, and the divine hymns, or, as to the main tenor and current of the whole, the ſame now that it ever has been from the utmoſt antiquity.

II. The *Greek* verſion of the *Old Teſtament*, called the *Septuagint* verſion, as it ſtood in the

days of *Chriſt* and his apoſtles, was agreeable to the genuine *Hebrew* text, as it was in that age.

III. The preſent *Hebrew* copies of the *Old Teſtament* are different in many places, from thoſe genuine *Hebrew* and *Greek* copies thereof, which were extant in the days of *Chriſt* and his apoſtles.

IV. The modern copies of the *Septuagint* verſion, ſince the ſecond century, eſpecially ſince the days of *Origen*, are alſo conſiderably different from thoſe genuine *Hebrew* and *Greek* copies, which were extant in the firſt century, in the days of *Chriſt* and his apoſtles.

V. That intire change, which has been made in the characters of the *Hebrew Bible*, from the *Old Samaritan*, to the *New Chaldee*, was not done by *Eſra*, as the modern *Jews* pretend; but by the *Jews* themſelves, about the beginning of the ſecond century of *Chriſtianity*.

VI. The *Samaritan Pentateuch*, even as among us, is generally a faithful and uncorrupt copy of the five books of *Moſes*, as that *Pentateuch* was extant, both in *Hebrew* and *Greek*, in the days of *Chriſt* and his apoſtles.

VII. The preſent *Septuagint* verſion of the *Pſalms* of *David*, eſpecially as ſtill preſerved in its moſt ancient *Latin* verſion, the *Roman Pſalter*, is a faithful and uncorrupt copy of that ſacred book, as it ſtood both in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* copies of the firſt century.

VIII. *Philo* the *Jew*, the ſacred authors of the *New Teſtament*, the *Apoſtolical Fathers*, with the primitive *Greek* and *Latin* writers now extant, of almoſt four intire centuries, do every one make their citations out of the *Old Teſtament*, not from the preſent *Hebrew* original, but from one agreeing with the *Septuagint* verſion thereof; or from ſome *Latin* tranſlation made according to that *Septuagint* verſion.

IX. *Joſephus*,

IX. *Joſephus*, the famous *Jewiſh* hiſtorian, cotemporary with the apoſtles of our Saviour, always made uſe of the then *Hebrew* copies of the *Old Teſtament*, and not of the *Septuagint* verſion, in his *Antiquities*.

X. The genuine chronology of *Joſephus* agrees neither with the preſent *Hebrew*, nor with the preſent *Greek*, but almoſt always with that of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*.

XI. The particular periods of *Joſephus*'s chronology ſtated.

XII. The *Jews*, about the beginning of the ſecond century of the goſpel, greatly altered and corrupted their *Hebrew* and *Greek* copies of the *Old Teſtament*, and that in many places on purpoſe, out of oppoſition to *Chriſtianity*.

XIII. The texts cited by our Saviour and his apoſtles, and the reſt of the writers of the *New Teſtament*, out of the *Old*, were truly cited by them, and in agreement with the genuine *Hebrew* and *Greek Bibles* of that age.

The APPENDIX *contains*,

I. The variations of the *Samaritan Pentateuch* from the *Hebrew*.

II. A demonſtration that the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* were written in the firſt century.

III. That *Seſoſtris* was that *Pharoah* who was drowned in the *Red-ſea*.

IV. A collection of original monuments referred to in my *Chronological Tables*.

To which I added the next year, 1723,

A Supplement, proving that the *Canticles* is not a ſacred book of the *Old Teſtament*, nor was originally owned as ſuch by the *Jewiſh* or *Chriſtian* church, 8*vo*. Price together, 6*s*. 6*d*.

About this year, 1723, as it is in my life of Dr. *Clarke*, 1ſt Ed. p. 127, 128. I reviſed, and improved, and corrected my *Grand Propoſal* for publiſhing a very cheap and correct edition of the *Primitive Fathers*; to be tranſmitted to every pariſh of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and our plantations; which propoſals are printed in my VIth volume of *The ſacred Hiſtory of the* New Teſtament, page 609—613.

And give me leave to add farther, that I find moſt of our preſent biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, ſo little acquainted with the primitive writers, that not only our own diſſenting brethren, who uſed to be far inferior to the church of *England* clergy in ſuch learning, but the ordinary popiſh prieſts themſelves, will be ſoon able to run them a-ground. And had not our clergy been very much more verſed in them, at the end of King *Charles* II. and through king *James* IId's reigns, we had, humanly ſpeaking, been quite over-borne by the *Jeſuits*, and they had intirely conquered us. I give one inſtance of my own knowledge. My ſon-in-law, Mr. *Barker*, and myſelf, wanted the *Synopſis Sacræ Scripturæ:* one of the moſt valuable remains of chriſtian antiquity now known. It is only extant in *Athanaſius*'s works, which are voluminous, and the principal fountain of orthodoxy among papiſts and proteſtants. However, this excellent piece being no where elſe to be had, I went to one of our principal bookſellers, and aſked for ſome edition of *Athanaſius* that had the *Synopſis*. At length *Commeline*'s edition appeared in the ſhop, which had it. It is a thick folio, and before the *Benedictine* edition, in three folio's, I ſuppoſe the beſt edition of that celebrated father's works. I aſked the price, and no more was demanded than 5*s*. ſo contemptible is the ſtudy of the fathers grown! and ſo unconcerned are even our *Athanaſians*

naſians grown about *Athanaſius* himſelf! Nor, by my obſervation of the books bought by our clergy, are the bare two firſt centuries read by one in an hundred: which yet I have read twice over in five months time. If the two or three firſt centuries, ſay the moderns, in effect, be againſt us, we will alſo be againſt them.

At the end of *March*, 1724, I wrote a pretty remarkable letter to a young man, a very honeſt, inquiſitive, deſerving friend of mine, Mr. *William Paul*, a ſtudent of *Glaſgow* in *Scotland*, from whom I have received ſeveral very kind letters, which are ſtill preſerved. He was then labouring in that univerſity for the reſtoration of *Chriſtian Liberty*, and *Primitive Chriſtianity*, as I had done at *Cambridge*, and elſewhere. It had not yet been publiſhed, ſo I here exhibit it *verbatim*.

Great Ruſſel-Street, over-againſt Montague-Houſe, London, March 30, 1724.

Dear Sir,

I Received your kind and obliging letter, dated from *Glaſgow* the 16th inſtant; and tho' I be removed from *Croſs-Street*, *Hatton-Garden*, your letter readily found me; nor am I apprehenſive that we have any reaſon to expect an unfair interruption of any literary intercourſe between us, of which you ſeem ſo very apprehenſive. If I ſee any of the perſons you refer me to, or any of thoſe friends you deſire me to ſpeak to on your account, I will ſhew them your letter, as I have done already to Mr. *Emlyn*. The length of your addreſs, and your over-great reſpect will be beſt ſpared hereafter. I ſhall be a plain hearty friend to yourſelf, or any other the like pious and ſincere inquirers, and therefore I beg you will pleaſe to look upon me accordingly. I am very ſorry

that

that when you came into theſe *ſouthern* parts, 1721, you did not meet with me, nor ſufficiently inform yourſelf where I then was: for tho' I was abſent from *London*, yet, very probably, I muſt have been at my ſon-in-law's, *Sam. Barker*, Eſq; at *Lyndon*, *Rutland*, within five miles of *Stamford*, the great *North* road. Mr. *Emlyn* is alſo very ſorry you did not go to his bookſeller, and enquire him out, he being, very probably, in *London* at that time. As to your coming hither again, in order to our mutual converſation, and the clearing any difficulties you ſeem to be under, we ſhould be very glad to ſee you; and with the greateſt readineſs ſhould communicate our advice and aſſiſtance; but the journey is ſo long, and the charges ſo great, that unleſs your own private circumſtances will admit of it, or you will venture by ſea, as your great mathematician *Mac-Laurin* of *Aberdeen*, I think did, either coming or going, or both, of all which circumſtances you are the beſt judge, we know not how to expect it. You ſeem to me to reſolve openly and honeſtly to bear the like teſtimony to ſome moſt ſacred, but long diſcarded truths of *Chriſtianity* in *Scotland*, which Mr. *Emlyn* did in *Ireland*, and I here in *England:* In which open and honeſt way, we have had ſome few, and but a very few followers here; while almoſt all thoſe who are privately of our judgment, temporize, or prevaricate, or uſe political management, to avoid the loſs of preferment or perſecution. You have, I hope, *counted the Coſt*, and are aware that poſſibly *Bonds and Afflictions* may be the conſequence of ſuch a ſincere and undiſguis'd adherence to primitive *Chriſtianity*, tho' here, indeed, we ſeem not to be in danger of ſuch uſage at preſent. However, we, as well as you, are incapable of preferment under the legal eſtabliſhments, and but a very few

of

of the diſſenting congregations will bear perſons of our characters to officiate. As for myſelf, I think it beſt generally to communicate, as a layman, with the church of *England*, while they permit me to do ſo, and yet to join no farther than my conſcience gives me leave; only we have many years made up a few times in the year, a very ſmall congregation of *Chriſtians*, at my own houſe, where we there uſed my liturgy of the church of *England*, reduced nearer to the *primitive Standard.* We alſo, for two years time, had a weekly meeting at the primitive library, for ſolemn examinations of the old ſtate of *Chriſtianity*, in order to reſtore it. But it has dropt ſeveral years ago, for want of the aſſiſtance of the learned: tho' the minutes of it, ſo far as we proceeded, are exactly preſerved, and ready for publication, when it ſhall be thought fit. Nor am I willing to engage in any other diſſenting publick worſhip, unleſs the original form in the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* may be our foundation.

As to your particular queſtions; the debate between the convocation and the then biſhop of *Bangor* came to no other iſſue, that I know of, than to make wiſe men ſenſible they had both run into great extremes, while neither ſide would recede from their own imaginations. Dr. *Clarke* has long deſiſted from putting his name to any thing againſt the church, but privately aſſiſts Mr. *Jackſon*; yet does he hinder his ſpeaking his mind ſo freely, as he would otherwiſe be diſpoſed to do. The diſpute with Dr. *Waterland* ſeems juſt now over; and I think the doctor has not made any proſelytes this good while, and that Mr. *Jackſon*'s laſt book, lately publiſhed, tho' anſwered already, will ſtick by the doctor while he lives. If the truly great and learned men, who are throughly maſters of *Chriſtian* antiquity, would openly declare what they know

know to have been the ancient doctrines and worſhip of *Chriſtians*, I believe that diſpute would be at an end. But they are, in general, too worldly-wiſe for that. The lord chief juſtice *King*, when very young, was the author of the *Enquiry into the primitive Conſtitution of the Church*, which book is in very great eſteem. Mr. *Emlyn* meant Dr. *Bentley* in his 331ſt page, who read a very learned lecture at *Cambridge*, to prove 1 *Joh.* v. 7. to be ſpurious. But he dares not now wholly omit it in the text of his edition of the *New Teſtament*, which he has promiſed, but not yet performed. The non-ſubſcribers, I think, gain ground generally with the betrer ſort of diſſenters, but the ſubſcribers keep the lower ſort. They have much ado to agree together. The addreſs to king *George* you mention, like all ſuch addreſſes, came to nothing. The unbelievers write ſo bare-facedly againſt the *Bible*, and would ſo far paſs for free-thinkers in our ſenſe, that it does our honeſt and *Chriſtian* deſigns a great deal of prejudice, eſpecially with the high church; and ſince the publick will amend nothing, and the court is unconcerned about religion, they pervert not a few to their infidelity. This is the ſad ſtate of things among us; nor is there any proſpect of amendment, 'till providence open ſome new ſcene for the revival of primitive *Chriſtianity*. However, my reſolution is one: to do all I can in that glorious deſign, while God continues my life and health, with the liberty of the preſs; which, tho' prodigiouſly abuſed by others, yet affords great opportunities to good men to lay their ſincere thoughts before the world, *ſeris factura nepotibus umbram*. I heartily pray God to bleſs your, and our honeſt endeavours, for the recovery of the pure and holy religion of our Bleſſed Saviour; and to keep us ſo undefiled in this wicked generation, that we may not fail of

our

our reward from him at the great day of his appearing: And am, with the utmoſt ſincerity, and affection,

Your very cordial Friend and Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

In the ſame year, 1724, I publiſhed *The Calculation of Solar Eclipſes without Parallaxes; with the Diſcovery of the Geographical Longitude of Places by ſuch Eclipſes. And an Account of ſome Obſervations made with Dipping-Needles*, 8vo. Price 1*s.* 6*d.*

N. B. This book has ſo many miſtakes, that 'till they are corrected, I do not deſire to have it ſpread abroad any longer. I am myſelf now too old to take pains in the review: and as I have heard Sir *Iſaac Newton* ſay, that no old men (excepting Dr. *Wallis*) love mathematicks; I may well be excuſed here, eſpecially when I have been long ſo buſy about things of much greater conſequence, as the world has long known, and will ſoon know it more fully, now my *Sacred Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament*, in ſix volumes, 8vo. is publiſhed.

In the ſame year, 1724, I publiſhed *The literal Accompliſhment of Scripture Prophecies*, being a full anſwer to Mr. *Collins*'s diſcourſe of *The Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion:* with a large *Appendix*, proving that *Ariſteus*'s hiſtory of the verſion of the *Pentateuch*, by the LXXII. Interpreters, ſtill extant, is genuine. To which is added, a *ſingle Sheet*, formerly written in oppoſition to the foretaid diſcourſe, containing alſo *Propoſals* for a collection of *Authentick Records* concerning the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* religion, 8vo. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

N. B.

N. B. Mr. *Collins*'s pamphlet here oppoſed, when it came firſt out, made a very great noiſe, and occaſioned me to publiſh immediately the *Sheet* already mentioned; to ſhew how very little of what Mr. *Collins* objected, had any real evidence for it; which he never pretended to anſwer. I well remember that I was then teaching mathematicks to a very ingenious *German* youth, the baron *Gemmingen*, who, upon his curſory looking at the bottom of ſeveral leaves of that pamphlet, juſtly, of himſelf, obſerved, that the evidences or citations were generally confin'd to the laſt 200 years, inſtead of originals; which was an inſtance of ſagacity in the baron, and a kind of confutation of the extravagant pretences of that author.

However, ſince in the ſecond page of that ſheet, I had publickly invited all the unbelievers, and indeed all others whomſoever, to produce and communicate to me their real and original evidence, or genuine teſtimonies of antiquity, whereby they thought they could diſprove the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* records, if they had any ſuch in their native ſimplicity. And I had, at the ſame time, ſolemnly promiſed them to inſert them faithfully into a collection I was then making: I do hereby declare, that I have never received one ſuch teſtimony upon that invitation; nor could they ſend me what could not be produc'd, as will pretty plainly appear, by the fourteen latter pages of that ſheet, where I fully confuted Mr. *Collins*'s pretences of that nature.

About this year, 1724, it might be, that Dr. *Wilſon*, the biſhop of *Man*, was heard before the privy council, in a cauſe wherein he had been put in priſon, by the earl of *Derby*'s governor of the iſle of *Man*, for executing, as tenderly as he could, the eccleſiaſtical law for defamation of an innocent woman by the governor's wife. I heard the cauſe;

cauſe; and, with Dr. *Nathaniel Marſhal*, did the biſhop what good offices I could. He carried his cauſe; but was almoſt ruined by the ſuit, the charges were ſo great. The biſhop had long been my acquaintance, and had many years before given me the *firſt*, or rather *only* book, then printed in the *Manks* language; being an explication of our church catechiſm. He has always appear'd to me as one of the beſt biſhops of our modern ages; and ſo much the better, as he is clear of the ſnares and temptations of a lord of parliament. His great worth has been principally acknowledged in the plentiful proviſion made for his ſon; who told me very lately, that his father ſtill preaches every Lord's Day, at eighty-three years of age. May the divine providence ſend forth more ſuch labourers as this biſhop into his vineyard, which, perhaps, never ſtood in greater need of them than at this day.

As I went to *Bath* and *Briſtol*, in the year 1724, I paſſed through *Marlborough*, and there met with one Mr. *Morgan*, who was then a *Diſſenting* miniſter there; but ſoon left off that employment, and, ſo far as appeared, becauſe he was become one of us that are called *Arians*. However, he ſoon fell upon the ſtudy of phyſick, with great pretences of noſtrums, and with a great degree of real ſkill in the *Newtonian* philoſophy. When he came to *London* things did not ſucceed with him; tho' he turned infidel, and with very little knowledge of the ſcriptures, fell upon them outragiouſly. yet, when he was going to practice phyſick at *Briſtol*, among the rich *Quakers* there, he wrote a pamphlet for ſuch divine aſſiſtance of good men, as might recommend himſelf to them. Now when I was this time at *Bath* and *Briſtol*, I there met with one of the ſtrangeſt and vileſt inſtances of wickedneſs, that I have ever heard of.

It

It was done by the earl of *Eſſex*; one who was afterward ſent envoy to the then duke of *Savoy*, or king of *Sardinia*; but would not admit of any of the *Vaudois* miniſters to come and officiate at his chapel, as the uſual cuſtom was. Take this account in the words of that *Memorial*, which I drew up at that time, in order to lay it before the then prince and princeſs of *Wales*, tho' I do much doubt whether it was ever preſented to them or not.

A Memorial *concerning the Earl of* Eſſex, *humbly ſubmitted to the Conſideration of their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of* Wales.

UPON the 16th of *September* laſt I came to *Bath*, and the next day I dined with my great friend and patron *Sam. Molyneux*, Eſq; ſecretary to the prince, who was then at the *Bath*, where I ſaw his brother-in-law, the earl of *Eſſex*; his lordſhip was then in no very good ſtate of health, tho' ſomewhat recovered from a much worſe ſtate, in which he had been ſometime before. The ſame day I went to *Briſtol*, whither I had been invited, in order to go through a courſe of experiments there; and lodged with Dr. *French*, in *Queen-Square*. Soon after I came thither, I met with one Mr. *Martin*, of *Taunton-Dean*, at Dr. *French*'s, whoſe father was a ſadler, of good account, the doctor's tenant. He was there, and was juſt come thither from the *Bath*, with a lamentable complaint againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, and told a very ſad ſtory of that Earl's open impudence and lewdneſs, in decoying away and debauching his own ſiſter; which yet is well known at *Briſtol*, not to have been the firſt attempt of that kind there. The ſtory was this, That a little while ago his ſiſter, *Martin*, had been apprentice to a manteau-maker at *Briſtol*, and

and was juſt out of her time, and muſt needs ſee a play there, before ſhe went home to *Taunton*, at which play the Earl of *Eſſex* happened to be preſent alſo; that upon his ſight of her, he pretended greatly to admire her, and his paſſion for her grew ſoon to that degree, as to offer ten guineas to one *Smith*, a procureſs in *Briſtol*, to decoy the Girl, who was about eighteen years of age, from her parents, in order to debauch her. This *Smith* accepted the offer, and took a friend of hers, whoſe name was, or had been, *Morgan*, with her; they were openly ſent down by the earl, in a coach and ſix, to *Taunton*, with a letter under his lordſhip's own hand; which letter the girl's mother told me ſhe ſtill had in her poſſeſſion, to perſwade her to ſubmit to his inclination; aſſuring her, upon honour, that every thing ſhould be according to her own deſire; but without any promiſe of marriage. *Smith*, the procureſs, aſſured her, that the earl was a perſon of great honour, and one that never did an ill thing; and that, without queſtion, he meant no other than to marry her. Upon that, the mother, Mrs. *Martin*, went to adviſe with a gentlewoman of her acquaintance in *Taunton*, whether it were fit for her and her daughter to go upon this offer, in order to treat with the earl or not? who was ſo very weak as to adviſe her, by all means, to go, leſt it ſhould be ſaid, that ſhe had neglected an opportunity of marrying her daughter to ſo great advantage. That upon this they went all back towards *Bath*, and met the earl about ten miles off the place; that the mother and daughter ſoon began to acknowledge the great favour and honour his lordſhip did them, in thinking of a marriage ſo much beneath himſelf, and ſo much to their advantage; that the earl immediately diſclaim'd all ſuch intentions, and denied that ever he had given any commiſſion to *Smith*, to ſay

any ſuch thing in his name, and ſtorming at her for pretending to do it; and owning, plainly, that he intended her only for his miſtreſs, or whore. *Smith*'s apology was, that the girl could not be perſwaded to come without that; nor would ſhe, at this interview, bear the thoughts of being a ſtrumpet to any king in the world. So the earl ſent them back, in his coach, to *Taunton*, without ſucceſs. What ſecret letter or meſſage the earl ſent afterward to the girl, or whether the girl repented of her former denial herſelf, and ſent a letter to his lordſhip to reſign herſelf up to his will, does not fully appear; tho' the earl ſeemed to ſuppoſe the latter caſe to be truth, in his diſcourſe with me afterwards: however, on *Saturday*, *September* 19, the earl ſent a ſervant again, on horſe-back, privately to *Taunton*; who, under a frivolous pretence of wanting ſome whip-cord, came to this *Martin*, the ſadler, and, as ſuppos'd, gave the girl ſome private letter, or made ſome private agreement for her to go with him. For, on *Sunday*, the girl pretended to be ſick, and while the family was at church, went off with the earl's ſervant to *Bath*; which, when the mother and brother came to know, they took horſe on *Monday*, and followed her; but not being able to ſeize her on the downs of *Bath*, where ſhe was, in the earl's coach, at the race, they came both to *Bath*, and made enquiry after her; but, at firſt, without ſucceſs. The brother went ſoon to the earl, who, after a faint denial of knowing any thing of his ſiſter, at laſt, confeſs'd all; and ſaid, tho' he did not keep her by force, yet ſhe was too well guarded for him to ſeize upon her; and, that unleſs all the town of *Taunton* came to reſcue her, ſhe was ſecure from his attempts; giving him, withal, a caution, by way of threatening, that he had beſt take care how he ventured to meddle with her, for fear of miſchief

chief to himſelf. The brother went to the town-clerk of *Bath* for a warrant, to ſearch for his ſiſter, as one who was gone away from her parents, and whom he perceiv'd, at laſt, to be kept in an houſe adjoining to the play-houſe: but the town-clerk, after a frivolous delay, directly refuſed the warrant. Upon this he went to the mayor of *Bath*, for the like warrant, without any mention of the earl; who bid him go to the town-clerk for a form, and he would ſign it; but as he was at the town-clerk's, in order to gain that form, the mayor himſelf came by, of whom he again deſired the warrant; but, when the mayor had diſcours'd with the town-clerk, he alſo directly refuſed it. Upon which the mother and brother, hearing where the girl was, went to the houſe, and deſired to ſpeak with her; but ſhe was under the guard of the miſtreſs of the houſe, and would not be ſpoken with, ſaying, if ſhe ſhould ſee her mother, ſhe ſhould drop down dead. Upon all which diſappointments, they both came to *Briſtol*, to their landlord, Dr. *French*, where I lodged, and where I heard, and with great indignation heard from them, the foregoing account. The next evening I ſpoke of this matter, which was already become very publick and notorious at *Taunton*, *Bath*, and *Briſtol*, to the lord *Barrington*, and counſellor *Row*, who were both in our courſe of experiments, and deſired their advice what was fit to be done to recover the girl to her parents; to bring ſuch notorious lewdneſs in the earl to puniſhment; and to correct ſuch an open denial of juſtice in the officers at the *Bath*; or, at leaſt, to prevent the like for the time to come. Two ways were propoſed; either to deſire a warrant from the lord chief juſtice of the king's bench, to recover the girl to her parents; or to indict the earl in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, for de-

coying her from them, or both. But before any reſolution could be taken, the earl himſelf came to *Briſtol*, *September* 27, being *Lord's-Day*, and ſupp'd in *Queen's-Square*, within a few doors of my lodging, at alderman *Elton*'s, who was one of the members of parliament for *Taunton*, and who, at the deſire of the girl's relations, had already ſpoken to the earl to reſtore her to them; but all to no purpoſe. The earl hearing that I was ſo near, ſent for me; I waited upon him accordingly; and found him in company with colonel *Roſſe*, Capt. *Ballandine*, and Mr. *Fielding*. After ſome time, I ſaid to my lord *Eſſex*, That I had ſomewhat to ſay to his lordſhip in private; and I deſired therefore that we might withdraw into another room; upon which the company offered to withdraw: but his lordſhip not ſtirring himſelf, nor ſeeming deſirous of the company's withdrawing, I repeated my former motion, and told his lordſhip again, that I had ſomewhat to ſay to him in private, and deſired we might withdraw. But he reply'd, He had rather I ſhould ſay what I had to ſay before the company. I then took the freedom of repreſenting, with the utmoſt plainneſs, to his lordſhip, the heinous wickedneſs he had been guilty of, in decoying and detaining a girl from her parents, in order to debauch her; that he had lately loſt his lady at *Paris*, and was returned home, in a very ill ſtate of health; that providence had juſt given him ſome relief, and hopes of recovery, and that this was a very ill requital for ſuch a bleſſing; that ſuch an open and publick attempt, to corrupt this girl's chaſtity, was not very unlike the violence offered to *Lucretia*, by *Tarquin*; which the *Romans* would not bear even in their king; but expell'd *Tarquin* for his lewdneſs, and thenceforward altered the form of their government; that

that *marriage was honourable in all, and the bed undefiled*; but that *whoremongers and adulterers God would judge*; that his lordſhip was at liberty to marry a ſecond time, if he found it proper, and was therefore under no temptation to ſuch looſe practices; that he ought to ſend the girl to her parents, and to make what amends he could to them, for ſtealing away and ruining their daughter; that there was advice taking to lay this matter before the lord chief juſtice, or bring it into *Weſtminſter-Hall*; that alſo it ought to be laid before the prince and princeſs of *Wales*, in order to their diſcarding a perſon of ſuch a wicked and lewd character from their ſervice; and that as I myſelf could, I believed, have acceſs to their royal highneſſes, it was probable I ſhould think fit to lay it before them with that deſign; of which I gave his lordſhip notice before-hand. To which his lordſhip reply'd, without any paſſion at all, that he was utterly againſt ſecond marriages, and therefore muſt have a miſtreſs; that he did not keep the girl by force, but that if ſhe would go home ſhe might; his affection for her (however) probably, would not laſt above three months; and that ſhe was not *now* in the caſe of *Lucretia*; that however, her brother had beſt have a care of attempting to ſeize her, leſt he came to ſome miſchief himſelf; that for the lord chief juſtice, and *Weſtminſter-Hall*, he did not much care, ſince he could appeal from thence to the houſe of lords, which, he believed, would not hurt him; and that for the prince and princeſs, they were perſons of *too good ſenſe*, to be concern'd at what he had done: with the like impudent expreſſions, in way of juſtification, and reſolution to go on in his wickedneſs. This behaviour gave me ſo great an indignation, that I could bear the converſation no longer; and ſo I took my leave very abruptly, in theſe or the

like true, but ſevere words, " My lord, you " are the moſt abandon'd perſon that I ever con- " vers'd with in my whole life." That if he perſiſted in ſuch his lewdneſs, I ſhould be a witneſs againſt him at the great day, when both his lordſhip and myſelf ſhould ſtand before *Chriſt*'s judgment-ſeat. After all which, I am inform'd his lordſhip has ſent this his ſtrumpet in a coach, well guarded, to *London*; where I ſuppoſe he keeps her at this day. This, may it pleaſe your royal highneſſes, is a faithful account of one of the moſt avow'd and publick inſtances of wicked lewdneſs that I have ever met with, in all my knowledge of mankind. And I verily believe that if you would pleaſe to diſmiſs the earl from your ſervice, on this account, you would thereby do a thing greatly acceptable to God, and to all good men, as well as to the real benefit and advantage to the earl, who will otherwiſe ſoon bring himſelf to the grave, by his preſent lewdneſs. It would alſo greatly tend to your own honour and reputation, and intereſt, in this kingdom: and if you take due care of the better character of him, who ſhall ſucceed, you would thereby give an eminent ſpecimen of the diſcouragement of vice and immorality, and incouragement to virtue and goodneſs in thoſe about your royal highneſſes perſons, which the king himſelf has been pleas'd to promiſe, as to thoſe about his own royal perſon. All which is moſt humbly, and out of the moſt ſincere good will to your royal highneſs, and to the earl himſelf, ſubmitted to your royal highneſſes ſerious conſideration, by

Your moſt obliged humble Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

In

In the year 1725, I publiſhed *A Supplement to the Literal Accompliſhment of Scripture Prophecies.* Containing obſervations on Dr. *Clarke*'s and biſhop *Chandler*'s *Diſcourſes of the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament:* With four diſſertations;

I. Upon *Iſaiah*'s Prophecy, concerning a Son to be born of a Virgin.
II. Upon *Daniel*'s LXX Weeks.
III. Upon the fourth Eclogue of *Virgil*, as compar'd with the *Sibylline* Oracles.
IV. Upon the Curſe denounced againſt *Cain* and *Lamech*, before the Flood: Proving that the *Africans* and *Indians* are their Poſterity, 8vo. Price 2 *s.*

It was about the ſame year, or rather long before it, as I have learned lately, that Dr. *Calamy*, a leading teacher among the diſſenters, travelling for his health into *Scotland*, came to *Edinburgh*, when the general aſſembly was ſitting, and there heard ſuch a very nice and particular ſcrutiny made into the opinions and conduct of a clergyman that came before them by appeal, from ſome lower judicature, as ſhewed too great an inclination to ſet him aſide, and provoked Dr. *Calamy* ſo much, that he whiſpered to one that was near him, that he never knew there was an inquiſition in *Scotland* before; which was overheard by ſome, who handed it about till it came to the prolocutor himſelf: where this freedom of cenſuring the acts of the general aſſembly was very ill taken. This I had from the doctor's ſon's own mouth, and from another perſon then preſent. And it puts me in mind of the very learned Mr. *Simpſon*'s caſe, who was deprived of his profeſſorſhip in *Scotland*, for being only an *Athanaſian* ſomewhat milder than ordinary. For after that time, I was once at

Hamlin's coffee-houſe, by the *Royal Exchange*, and was ſhewed this Mr. *Simpſon*, a brother ſufferer, at ſome diſtance in the coffee-houſe. But I, by choice, avoided to go, or to ſpeak to him there; leſt ſo ſmall a converſation ſhould be a foundation of a farther accuſation againſt him in his own country.

In the next year, 1726, I publiſhed a pamphlet *Of the Thundering Legion:* or, *Of the miraculous Deliverance of* Marcus Antoninus *and his Army, on the Prayers of the* Chriſtians. As alſo, *Of* Alexander the Great's *meeting the High Prieſt of the* Jews *at* Jeruſalem; occaſioned by Mr. *Moyle*'s works then lately publiſhed, 8vo. Price *6d.*

In the next year, 1727, I publiſhed Mr. *Henley*'s *Letters and Advertiſements which concern'd myſelf*; with a few notes, 8vo. Price *6d.* See more hereafter.

In the ſame year, 1727, I publiſhed *A Collection of Authentick Records, belonging to the* Old *and* New Teſtament, tranſlated into *Engliſh*: In two parts and volumes. Containing,

PART. I.

I. A Diſſertation on the Book of *Baruch:* To prove that it is a Canonical Book of the *Old Teſtament.*

II. The Epiſtle of *Baruch* to the nine Tribes and an half; with its Poſtſcript.

III. Obſervations to prove them genuine.

IV. The Septuagint Verſion of the Deſcription of *Ezekiel*'s Temple, according to the *Alexandrian* Copy.

V. A large Diſſertation on the IVth Book of *Eſdras*, to prove it genuine.

VI. A

VI. A particular Explication of the XIth and XIIth Chapters.
VII. Eighteen Pſalms of *Solomon* IId.
VIII. A Diſſertation to prove them genuine.
IX. The third Book of the *Maccabees*.
X. Some Account of the fourth Book, now loſt.
XI. The Epiſtle of the *Jews* of *Jeruſalem* to the *Jews* of *Egypt*. 2 *Macc.* i. and ii.
XII. A Diſſertation to prove it genuine.
XIII. The true Origin of the antient Sect of the Magians in *Perſia*, from the ten Tribes in Captivity there.
XIV. That *Zerduſht* their Legiſlator did not live in the Days of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, but of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*.
XV. That the Religion of *Zerduſht* was that of the *Jews*, without Circumciſion, as it was in the Days of *Abraham*.
XVI. That the Occaſion of his Inſtitution of covered Fire Temples, was the Miracle that is related in the forementioned Epiſtle of the *Jews* of *Jeruſalem* to the *Jews* of *Egypt*.
XVII. Extracts out of the Book of *Enoch*.
XVIII. A Diſſertation to prove it genuine.
XIX. The Teſtaments of the XII Patriarchs.
XX. A Diſſertation to prove them genuine.
XXI. Fragments of Apocryphal Books of the *Old Teſtament* now loſt; with Notes upon them.

PART II.

I. *Ariſteus*'s Hiſtory of the *Septuagint* Verſion of the Law of *Moſes*.

N. B. The Genuineneſs of this Hiſtory has been proved at large in my *Appendix* to *The Literal Accompliſhment of Scripture Prophecies*, p. 117—154.

II. An

II. An Epiſtle of the *Corinthians* to St. *Paul*, with St. *Paul*'s Anſwer: In *Arabick*, *Latin* and *Engliſh*; recovered now firſt intire from the *Armenians*.

N. B. It was afterwards publiſhed by my Sons in *Armenian* and *Latin*.

III. Reaſons for their being genuine.

IV. The State of *Spiritual Gifts* in the Churches; and their Government by Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, in the Age of the Apoſtles.

V. Of the Magical Arts of *Simon Magus*.

VI. That the *Ebionites* rejected the Authority of all the Apoſtles.

VII. The Unlawfulneſs of eating Blood among *Chriſtians*.

VIII. A Demonſtration of the Truth of the *miraculous Gifts* in the Age of the Apoſtles.

IX. Fragments of the *Apocryphal Books* of the *New Teſtament*, now loſt.

X. An *Ebionite* Apocryphal Fragment.

XI. A large Part of the *Synopſis Sacræ Scripturæ*, with *Athanaſius*'s *Feſtal Epiſtle*, in parallel Columns.

XII. A *Scholium*, proving the *Synopſis* to be as old as *Origen*: With other Obſervations.

XIII. A compleat Collection of the ancient *Catalogues* of the Books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, *Canonical*, *Contradicted*, and *Apocryphal*: With Notes.

XIV. Appendix (1.) A Table of the Subject and Order of the ſeveral Prophecies of the *Old Teſtament*, from *Iſaiah* to *Eſdras*.

XV. Appendix (2.) Arguments to the Pſalms of *David*.

XVI. Appendix (3.) A Suſpicion that a Prophecy of *Micah* has been diſlocated.

XVII.

XVII. Appendix (4.) A Suſpicion that a Prophecy of *Zephaniah* has been diſlocated.

XVIII. Appendix (5.) The ſeveral Predictions concerning the Deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* Army of *Senacherib* before *Jeruſalem*: With the undeniable Evidence of their Completion.

XIX. Appendix (6.) Concerning the different Statures of Mankind in different Ages, from the Deluge to the Days of *Chriſt*.

XX. Concerning the Statures of three Sorts of *Giants* before, and after the Deluge.

XXI. Appendix (7.) The exact *Time* when miraculous Gifts ceas'd in the Church.

XXII. Appendix (8.) Of the Corruptions brought into the Church by the *Ebionites*. See alſo the *Sacred Hiſtory of the* New Teſtament, page 279—283.

XXIII. That *Joſephus* the *Jew* was an *Ebionite*.

XXIV. Appendix (9.) A Confutation of Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s Chronology.

XXV. Appendix (10.) *Armenian Records* taken from the *Archives* of *Edeſſa*.

XXVI. Reaſons for their being genuine.

In the year 1726, I procured to be made me, by Mr. *Croſedale*, a very ſkilful workman, but according to my own directions, and at the expence of about forty guineas, a model of the tabernacle of *Moſes*, and of the temple at *Jeruſalem*, ſerving to explain *Solomon*'s, *Zorobabel*'s, *Herod*'s, and *Ezekiel*'s temples; and had lectures upon that at *London*, *Briſtol*, *Bath* and *Tunbridge-wells*. The ſubſtance of which important lectures, I added about the year 1728, or 1729, to a large ſcheme of that model, after I had compared it with Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s ſcheme of the temple of *Solomon*, then juſt publiſhed in his chronology, to which it almoſt entirely agreed. I have alſo had the

like

like lectures upon the same model above two years ago, at *Hackney*, and *Tunbridge-wells*, to the great satisfaction, I think of both my audiences; as I intend many more the like lectures, and those that are a preparatory to the restoration of the *Jews* hereafter, while it shall please God to continue my health and abilities to go through them. And this I take to be my peculiar business at present; since I have, I think, plainly discovered, that it will not be many years before the Messiah will come for the restoration of the *Jews*, and the first resurrection, when the last of these temples, the temple of *Ezekiel*, will be built upon *Mount Sion*, as the three former had been built upon *Mount Moriah*. Of which more towards the end of these memoirs. One thing, however, I will add as to this model, when twenty-two years ago I explained it at *Bristol*, *viz.* that a schoolmaster there, Mr. *Catcot*, by name, one of my auditors, was so affected and pleased with the model and the lectures, that long before I had made that scheme or ground-plot which is now in my *Josephus*, he, from his memory, made one for himself, and brought to me to be corrected. This Mr. *Catcot* I then took to be one of the best scholars, and of as sober a mind as any of my auditors or friends at *Bristol*; whatever unhappy bias afterward made him a proselite, to my real grief and surprize, to that wild *Hebrew* enthusiast Mr. *Hutchinson*.

It may also be worth mentioning, that in this year, 1726, and at my course at *Bristol*, the bishop of the diocese, *Hooper*, who had been one of the court of delegates, that sat upon me in contradiction to the opinion of good bishop *Waddington*, who used to kneel by me when we were there at the communion together, sent orders to the incumbent of the parish to refuse me the communion; which was signified to me by my old friend Dr. *Siddal*, afterward

afterward biſhop of *Glouceſter*. Upon which I quietly withdrew, without making any complaints to the publick of ſo great an hardſhip.

In the year 1728, Dr. *Pemberton* publiſhed his *View of Sir* Iſaac Newton's *Philoſophy*. I would fain have had him added thoſe famous *Scholia*, or *Corollaries* of his, which are of the greateſt value for the ſupport of natural and revealed religion; but I could not perſuade him to it. Upon his refuſal, I tranſlated them myſelf into *Engliſh*, and publiſhed them, with ſome few additions and notes, the next year, 1729, both in 4to. and 8vo. Price 6*d*.

In the year 1730, I publiſhed *The Horeb Covenant Revived*: or, *An Account of thoſe Laws of* Moſes *which oblige* Chriſtians. To which is added, *Apoſtolical Rules for Eccleſiaſtical Courts*. Written 1739, upon occaſion of the trial and conviction of poor Mr. *Robert Hales*, for forgery, 8vo. Price together 1 *s*. 6*d*.

N. B. I entered deep into Mr. *Hales*'s character and behaviour, which was ſupported by twenty-ſeven moſt eminent teſtimonies in his favour; and I was to come in for the twenty-eighth, but they durſt not call me, ſince I might have diſcompoſed the ſcheme that was laid by the pleaders. Yet upon hearing the trial, both I and Dr. *Nath. Marſhal* alſo, as well as ſome others, were ſatisfied of his innocence; the papers and vouchers for which, I have ſtill by me. And indeed that trial gave me ſuch a terrible idea of our preſent courts, and of ſome of the maxims of law there followed, even where neither the judges nor the juries can be charged with any intention to act unjuſtly, that I cannot but earneſtly deſire to ſee that time, when the ſacred goſpel of *Chriſt* may regain its liberty; and when the laws of God ſhall every-where take

take place, inſtead of the laws of men; and when no corrupt maxims or quirks may oblige any then to break that eternal rule of equity, *He that juſtifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the juſt, even they both are abomination to the Lord.* Prov. xvii. 15.

The ſame year, 1730, I publiſhed *Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Samuel Clarke*; being a ſupplement to Dr. *Sikes* and biſhop *Hoadley*'s account: including certain memoirs of ſeveral of Dr. *Clarke*'s friends, 8*vo.*

What a worthy friend of mine, Mr. *John Laurence*, thought of this pamphlet, will appear by the following letter.

Dear Sir,

I Have received and read your memoirs, *&c.* with a great deal of pleaſure; and I herewith return you many thanks for the ſervice you have done to religion in general, and the *Chriſtian* religion in particular; by ſo freely, and ſo juſtly reproving our biſhops, for that ſecularity of ſpirit, which ſo viſibly reigns in moſt of them. I cannot ſee how they can poſſibly wipe off the offence and ſcandal which hath been both given and taken by their ſhameful non-reſidence, and neglect of their dioceſſes, but by a ſpeedy reformation. And it hath been juſtly and rightly obſerved, that for near two years laſt paſt, there hath not been one biſhop appeared amongſt us in all the north part of *England*. To your honeſt freedom, in repreſenting the odium, which muſt ariſe from ſuch groſs neglects; you might, in your memoirs, have added the fatal miſchiefs and inconveniences that muſt neceſſarily follow, from the evil example of ſuch biſhops. For with what grace can a non-

reſident

reſident biſhop reprove, (and ſure reproof is neceſſary) his non-reſident clergy? and ſo indeed it proves in fact, the mutual connivance becomes thus almoſt neceſſary, and the word *Incumbent* too frequently loſes its name; for I could give you inſtances of rectors, who have not, like a certain biſhop, ſet foot on their rectories for ſix years together; and of another living, near me, on which there has been neither reſident rector, nor reſident curate, for above twelve years together. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ!* I had ſeveral things more to have ſaid; but my heart being full of ſorrow, for theſe things, I could not let ſlip this firſt opportunity of letting you know how much I ſympathize with you, and lament ſome of the cauſes of the decay of *Chriſtian Piety.* We frequently remember you all with pleaſure. And I deſire you to believe that I am, with great ſincerity,

(Dear Chum,)

Biſhops Weremouth, Sept. 15, 1730. *Your affectionate Friend,*

J. L.

P. S. Biſhop *Burnet* has wrote a book called the *Paſtoral Care*, I would fain have ſomebody write the *Epiſcopal Care.*

In the year 1731, my great friend, Dr. *Sydal*, (who, with Mr. *Pyle*, ſen. of *Lynn*, were the two beſt ſcholars that I ever examined for holy orders while I was chaplain to Dr. *Moor*, biſhop of *Norwich)* was made biſhop of *Glouceſter.* The mention of him in this place is made, on account of a remarkable fact by him related to me, of Mr. *William Needham*, who had been chaplain to

archbiſhop

archbiſhop *Sancroft*, and was a member of that convocation, which fell upon me *A. D.* 1711, and whoſe conduct relating to me, is ſet down at large after my *Hiſtorical Preface*. Dr. *Sydal*, who was alſo a member of the ſame convocation, finding Mr. *Needham*, otherwiſe a good man, very bitter againſt me, ſaid to him, "What you are doing "againſt Mr. *Whiſton* is like the proceedings in the "inquiſition." Whereupon Mr. *Needham* made this memorable reply: "That the inquiſition, in-"deed, may do now and then an hard thing: but, "for the main, they keep things tight." As indeed perſecution did uſually do ſo, till, in this age, the laity are grown ſo uneaſy under it, that in proteſtant countries it cannot keep things *tight* any longer. Which, by the way, ſhould teach the governors of the church to lay all attemps for it aſide; and to betake themſelves to fair examination and correction of what is amiſs immediately.

N. B. Since the old method of divine providence, uſed all along to preſerve the hiſtory of the moſt important facts of ancient ages, by ſtanding memorials of the ſame to after ages, as I have formerly proved. Eſſay on the *Apoſt. Conſt.* page 174——179. I propoſe it for a proper query to the inquiſitive, whether, as the circumſtances of the firſt or original ſin of *Adam* and *Eve*, were preſerved, in the *Pudor circa res Venereas*; and as to *Eve*, by the difficulties of conception, geſtation, and child-birth, in mothers ever ſince; whether the ſame circumſtances of that firſt ſin might not alſo be preſerved, as to *Adam*, by the circumciſion of the males? We find this circumciſion in *Sanchoniatho*, before the flood: *Eſſay on the Old Teſtament*, Appendix, page 178. And we find it made the diſtinguiſhing mark of *Abraham* and his poſterity, after it, to this very day. I affirm nothing here;

here; but think no other ſolution of this divine command ſo probable, and ſo agreeable to the antient method of divine providence, as this is.

June 21*ſt*, 1749.

W. W.

In *February*, 1732, Mr. *John Baron* was made dean of *Norwich*. This very good, modeſt, and religious man, and excellent paſtor of a country pariſh, *Ditchingham*, was, in *A. D.* 1698 and 1699, poſſeſſed of about 20*l.* a year of the tithes of *Keſſingland*, a village but three miles off *Loweſtoff*, and annexed to it. He had been educated under Mr. *Robinſon*, one that taught young men who were bringing up to be diſſenting teachers. But upon ſome doubts he had about going on in that way, and ſome letters that paſſed between us thereto relating, he left the diſſenters, and came over to the church of *England*; and at length accepted of the deanry of *Norwich*, but refuſed the biſhoprick when it was offered him. However, upon our firſt acquaintance he ſeemed uneaſy at retaining thoſe church-lands, which yet came to him by inheritance, and offered them to be ſettled on the church for eight years purchaſe, or 160*l.* which moſt kind offer tempted me to try my friends for the purchaſe of them: which was likely then to be for my own conſiderable advantage alſo. I remember that the biſhop gave 5*l.* Dr. *Prideaux* 10*l.* the lord *Weymouth* 10*l.* *&c.* ſo that I at length made it up within 50*l.* which I advanced myſelf, or reckoned myſelf ſo much out of pocket. But ſtill I got the money paid, and the title was veſted in me; but ſo, that I always intended not to keep it in my own family, but in due time, when I had repaid myſelf,

ſelf, to transfer my right to the vicarage for ever. Yet did there ſome unexpected circumſtances intervene; for when I was admitted mathematical profeſſor, *A. D.* 1703, which voided my living, yet did it not void my title to theſe tythes. Accordingly I kept them for ſome years, till, upon my baniſhment from the univerſity, the revenues of my profeſſorſhip were taken away from me; and moſt men would have thought that I might, in this caſe, keep this ſmall remains for my family. However, I being always deſirous to do what equity rather than law could oblige me to, I offered, when Dr. *Trimnel* was biſhop, upon my being reimburſt the 50 *l.* which I reckoned was not cleared to me, to ſettle it abſolutely upon the vicarage for ever, and truſt myſelf and my family to the Divine Providence. Accordingly it has been between thirty and forty years ſettled upon that vicarage. Only I muſt do the preſent incumbent Mr. *Tanner* the juſtice to acknowledge, that he has now, for many years, of his own accord, ſent me out of it five guineas every *Chriſtmas:* for which I muſt own myſelf greatly obliged to him. Nor did dean *Baron* forget me at his death, but ordered his executors to make me a preſent of 20 *l.* as did Mr. *Leigh*, an *Iriſh* gentleman, a moſt dear friend of mine, and an excellent chriſtian, order me the like ſum of *Iriſh* money by his will. Mr. *Brockman* alſo left me by will 10 *l.* which, with a ſmall farm of my own near *Newmarket*, the queen's bounty of 40 *l.* clear, Sir *Joſeph Jekyl*'s annuity for life of 20 *l.* a year clear, with eclipſes, comets, lectures of ſeveral ſorts in *London* and elſewhere, and ſome benefactions by perſons now alive, and the greateſt of all long ago by Mr. *John Bromley* of *Horſeheath*, *Cambridgeſhire*, has made me up ſuch a competency as has greatly contented

tented me, and made me to go on all a long comfortably in my ſtudies.

In the year 1732, I wrote *A Paraphraſe on the Book of Job*; with a preliminary diſſertation and obſervations ſubjoined. To which I lately added a very ſmall diſſertation on the book of *Eccleſiaſtes*, to ſhew that it is a collection of *Solomon*'s reflections, about points of the greateſt conſequence: the moſt of them when he was a religious man, in his firſt and laſt days: but ſeveral of them when he was irreligious and ſceptical, during his amours and idolatry. This book is not yet printed.

In the ſame year, 1732, I publiſhed *A Vindication of the Teſtimony of* Phlegon: or, *An Account of the great Darkneſs and Earthquake at our Saviour's Paſſion*, deſcribed by *Phlegon*. Being an anſwer to Dr. *Sykes*'s diſſertation concerning that eclipſe and earthquake, 8vo. Price 1 *s.*

In the year 1733, I publiſhed *A Map of* Europe, with the courſe of eight remarkable eclipſes of the Sun, drawn upon it. An open ſheet. Price 1 *s.*

In the ſame year 1733, I publiſhed *An Enquiry into the Evidence of Archbiſhop* Cranmer's *Recantation:* or, *Reaſons for a* Suſpicion *that the pretended large Copy of it is not genuine*, 8vo. Price 6*d.*

About the ſame year 1733, Dr. *Secker* was made biſhop of *Oxford*, and rector of St. *James*'s: this is the living where that great man Dr. *Samuel Clarke* had formerly been rector, and preached with great ſucceſs and reputation, for many years. And pity, great pity it is, that ſo very worthy a perſon, and ſo indefatigable a paſtor of that large pariſh, as Dr. *Secker* is, ſhould appear ſo groſly unacquainted with primitive chriſtianity, as diſtinct from the preſent ſettlement of the

church of *England*, whereby the great light afforded by Dr. *Clarke* might have been carried on nearer to perfection, and to the reſtoration of that moſt holy religion, not which *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Knox*, *Cranmer*, &c. &c. have left us, but which our bleſſed Saviour delivered to the apoſtles. Whereas I perceive biſhop *Secker* ventures to excuſe what he is himſelf aſhamed to juſtify, even the monſtrous *Athanaſian* creed itſelf, with all its curſes: and pretends it was permitted to ſtand in our proteſtant *Common-Prayer-Book*, to invite the papiſts to continue in our communion: while among the *Lutherans* it is only read once a year, upon *Trinity Sunday:* and while our firſt *Engliſh Common-Prayer-Book* appointed it only to be read on the ſix great feſtivals; but ſince the *Church of England* has amended, or rather corrupted that firſt and beſt *Common-Prayer-Book*, it is appointed to be read upon ſeven other holidays, or thirteen times in all. Nor are the poor apologies, or, rather, excuſes, that his lordſhip made for the fooliſh niceties of that creed, better than may at any time be made for the niceties of tranſubſtantiation, and the other groſſeſt errors of popery. 'Tis always, for certain, better to correct modern errors and miſtakes by our original ſtandards, than to apologize for, or excuſe thoſe errors and miſtakes. Only I fear Dr. *Secker*, with the generality of his brethren, inſtead of deſiring to know more of the genuine religion of our Saviour, as he left it, in its primitive purity, are ſuffering themſelves to ſink into almoſt as groſs ignorance of chriſtian antiquity, and of the two firſt centuries, as the popiſh biſhops were ſunk into before the proteſtant reformation; particularly in the doctrine of *Athanaſianiſm*. Tho' I dare venture to aſſure them, that let the laws go on as they pleaſe, and the practice of the poor oppreſſed clergy of our church be never ſo conformable,

formable, the light of primitive truth ſhines too bright in *Chriſtendom* to be thereby any longer extinguiſhed or eclipſed. The *Athanaſian* hereſy is even here ſo low, that the principal examiners give it up, and no perſon of note for learning has dared, theſe many years, to publiſh any thing in its vindication. Nor do I find any conſiderable party among us, but the weakeſt of all our preſent ſects, the *Calviniſts*, that ſhew any concern for it. As to *Germany*, enquiry goes on there ſo faſt, that I believe it cannot hold long among the learned proteſtants of that country. For *Switzerland* and *Baſil*, one of their moſt learned profeſſors, Mr. *Wetſtein*, who was ſeveral years ago proſecuted there for *Arianiſm*, and forced to retire to *Holland* on that account, was afterward, as it were, rechoſen, upon better conſideration; but is now a profeſſor among the remonſtrants in *Holland*. He was here very lately, and aſſured me himſelf, that among the remonſtrants of that country, which are known to be their moſt learned body, he believes there is *not one Athanaſian* remaining. For *Geneva*, at firſt the famous head of the *Calviniſts* and *Trinitarians*, I have largely ſhewn elſewhere, that they have taken away the ſixty-four articles of their *Conſenſus*, and allow no human authority to impoſe upon their paſtors; but have brought all to the holy ſcriptures themſelves. III. *Tracts*, page 13—22. And I well remember, that I, long ago, heard, from a very good hand, that when our famous Dr. *Outram* was writing his very learned book concerning *the Jewiſh Sacrifices*, he was aſked, Why he choſe to enter into the *Jewiſh* antiquities of the *Rabbins*, rather than into the chriſtian antiquities of the firſt centuries? His anſwer was, What, would you have me be an *Arian?* He knowing that ſuch primitive chriſtian learning would endanger his *Athanaſianiſm*, and tempt him to

embrace what the later ages have called *Arianiſm*. I am very ſorry that I am forced to write ſo ſeverely to biſhop *Secker*, one of the beſt of our preſent biſhops and paſtors, and for whom I have the greateſt eſteem: but the miſerable condition of the true primitive chriſtian religion among us, forces me to be ſo plain with him, and by his means with his brethren, the reſt of our preſent biſhops alſo; who ſeem to be in a deep ſleep and lethargy, out of which I aim to awaken them, by thus freely admoniſhing them to awake, tho' probably I may have ſmall thanks for this my admonition.

In the next year, 1734, I publiſhed my *Reply to Dr.* Sykes's *Defence of his Diſſertation concerning the Eclipſe mentioned by* Phlegon, as the III. of my VI. Diſſertations: containing,

I. The teſtimonies of *Joſephus* concerning *Jeſus Chriſt*, *John* the baptiſt, and *James* the juſt, vindicated.

II. The copy of the *Old Teſtament* made uſe of by *Joſephus*, proved to be that which was collected by *Nehemiah*.

III. A *Reply* to Dr. *Sykes*'s *Defence of his Diſſertation on the Eclipſe*, mentioned by *Phlegon*.

IV. The chronology of the ſacred ſcriptures, and the truth of their predictions, confirmed by eclipſes, and aſtronomical obſervations.

V. Remarks on Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s obſervations upon the prophecies of *Daniel* and the apocalypſe.

VI. A demonſtration that our Saviour's miniſtry continued, at leaſt, four years. Occaſioned by Mr. *Man*'s diſſertation on that ſubject, 8vo. Price 4 *s*.

N. B.

N. B. There was an annular eclipſe of the ſun, *July* 30, *A. D.* 455. before that interregnum which followed upon the deaths of *Aëtius* and *Valentinian* III. and *Avitus*; and ſoon after the ſacking of *Rome* by *Genſerick* the *Vandal*, in the ſame year. After all which, the dignity, power, and authority of the old *Roman* emperors were irreparably loſt. Which was a moſt remarkable *breach*, and almoſt *diſſolution* of that empire.

It might be about this year, 1734, alſo, that Dr. *Knight*, late archdeacon of *Berkſhire*, lent me biſhop *Patrick*'s account of his own life, written with his own hand, which I very well knew; and ending with his birth-day, when he was eighty years old. Which birth-day the biſhop had long kept after a moſt religious manner. Why this life is not hitherto publiſhed, I do not know. He was in the old war-time a great royaliſt, and therefore under no temptation to deny, as he does here, that king *Charles* I. was the original author of the Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, had he not been fully ſatisfied that it was not of his own writing; tho' I take it to be undeniable, that the king highly approved, and frequently corrected the copy with his own hand, till it truly expreſs'd the ſenſe of his own mind, and ſo was his true *Portraiture*, as the title ſignifies it to be. Another thing I remember there is in biſhop *Patrick*'s account of himſelf, and of the great events that happened in his time, *viz.* "That juſt before the death "of king *Charles* II. there was over-bearing evi- "dence coming out, of the truth of *Oates*'s plot, "and then the king died." What inference the biſhop made from this coincidence, does not appear in this MS. But I ſuppoſe every body will eaſily ſupply it in their own mind. I read this MS. four times over: ſo I can be poſitive of the truth of theſe two things. When I after-

ward gave Sir *Joſeph Jekyl* and Mr. *Arthur Onſlow* an account of what I had ſeen, they were both hearty for having the copy intirely printed *in puris naturalibus*, which I told Dr. *Knight*. But he thought himſelf not at liberty to do more than take ſome extracts out of it, to be inſerted elſewhere as he ſaw cauſe. So it is not yet publiſhed.

In the year 1735, that great and good friend of mine Mr. *Samuel Collet*, a baptiſt, who was ſo zealous to have primitive chriſtianity examined into and reſtored, that he has aſſured me, he thinks he never once miſſed a meeting of our old *Society for promoting that primitive Chriſtianity*, was very ill, and thought himſelf in danger of death, at *Newington-Green*. I went to ſee him, and at his deſire, prayed with him, and for him, as became a chriſtian clergyman to do. He alſo deſired me to *anoint him with oil*, according to the injunction in St. *James* v. 14, 15, 16. *Is any ſick among you, let him call for the preſbyters of the church, and let them pray over him; anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith ſhall ſave the ſick, and the Lord ſhall raiſe him up: and if he have committed ſins they ſhall be forgiven him. Confeſs therefore your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed, the* ενεργμένη, *the prayer for the Energumens, Conſtitut.* VIII. §. 7. *or the fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.* Upon which deſire of his, I heſitated, and told him I durſt not venture to do that, till I had examined antiquity about it. As not then remembering that the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, both in the ordination of a preſbyter, book VIII. chap. 18. order the *Gift of Healing* to be deſired for him, and the ſame *Conſtitutions*, book VIII. chap. 29. appoint a form for the conſecration of oil, and in want of oil, of water, VII. 22. for the healing of the ſick, and

and the caſting out dæmons. Nor at that time well recollecting the cure of *Severus*, the emperor, by *Proculus Torpacio*, upon his anointing him with oil, as *Tertullian*, a contemporary hiſtorian, informs us. And had I been then apprized of this evidence, 'tis very probable I ſhould have conſecrated ſome oil, and anointed him. However, he fully ſuppoſes that God took the *Will for the Deed*, and accepted of the prayers we put up to him for his recovery: when there was nothing but involuntary ignorance on both ſides: for he recovered, and he has ever ſince been in a better ſtate of health than he had been long before. 'Tis true, that another baptiſt, and one of the moſt learned of the baptiſts, an old friend of mine alſo, Mr. *Morris*, in a ſermon of his, has ſhewed himſelf a notable critick upon this text in St. *James*, in order to get clear of the obligation of this anointing; for many of the baptiſts do not allow of it: but ſince his criticiſms are not throughly ſatisfactory, ſince we have the conſtant tradition and practice of this duty delivered in the ſeveral churches of the world, as far as the chriſtians of St. *Thomas* in the *Eaſt-Indies*; nay, have it in the firſt and beſt *Common-Prayer-Book* of the church of *England*; and thence in my own *Common-Prayer-Book*, *reduced nearer to the primitive ſtandard*. And ſince it appears this practice has had great and eminent ſucceſs in healing the afflicted; which the following baptiſts, Mr. *Killingworth*, the two Mr. *Stangers*, Mr. *Copper*, and Mr. *Goode*, all of my own acquaintance, do fully atteſt; theſe ſeem to me to give a divine approbation to it, ſo that any criticiſms notwithſtanding, I am clear that it is a certain law of the goſpel, and ought to be put in practice by all churches accordingly: tho' the particular ſubjects of this unction, and the circumſtances in which it ought to be done, will ſtill deſerve our farther

very

very ſerious enquiry. Only *Grotius* obſerves, that the eaſtern churches appointed ſeven preſbyters to join in it. *In loc. Jacobi.* But more of this matter hereafter.

About the year 1736, the *Jews* in *Duke's-Place*, by *Aldgate*, had a moſt dreadful fire, which conſumed no ſmall part of their dwellings in that place, and many of the poorer ſort were thereupon under a very ſore degree of diſtreſs. When the news-writers informed the publick of this terrible calamity, a chriſtian gentleman of a plentiful eſtate of my acquaintance, and a great ſtudent in the ſcriptures, without any application, to ſhew his univerſal charity and kindneſs to all in diſtreſs, of what denomination ſoever, ſent me a letter, with a note of 110 *l.* incloſed, to be received by me, and to permit me to apply the 10 *l.* to myſelf, and deſired me to pay the 100 *l.* to the *Jews*, towards their relief, and ſend him the *Jews* receipt for that ſum; but under a ſtrict charge not to have himſelf named in the whole tranſaction. Which directions I executed accordingly. And altho' no-body but myſelf knew, nor does yet, I ſuppoſe, know his name, yet does that Omniſcient Being, who *is good to all*, and *whoſe tender mercies are over all his works*, know it, and will not let him go without his reward at the great day. This I thought proper to mention, for the honour of chriſtianity, and of ſo good a chriſtian, as well as for the example of others.

About the ſame year 1736, and before queen *Caroline* died, Mr. *Jortin*, a great and learned friend of mine, and from whom I afterward received a remedy of Sir *Edward Hulſe*'s for a great diſorder I was then in, which, by God's bleſſing, ſaved my life, told me, that the late duke of *Somerſet*, a great *Athanaſian*, once forbad his chaplain to read the *Athanaſian* creed, (which I imagined was occaſioned

occaſioned by a ſuggeſtion from the queen; to whom I had complained, that altho' ſhe was queen, that creed was not yet laid aſide:) whereupon Mr. *Jortin* left off the ſame creed for ſome time. Mr. *Jortin* has alſo lately publiſhed a very good book for the chriſtian religion: which I ſuppoſe he believes, as do the reſt of his brethren, but *hardly in earneſt*, ſo as to ſuffer any thing for it. Which believing *in earneſt*, it is next to impoſſible for one of his abilities to do, while he has not publickly repented of his having ſo often formerly curſed the *Euſebians*, or primitive chriſtians. In which caſe I believe the primitive church, even after the repentance of the offending clergy, would have only admitted them to lay-communion.

In the year 1736, I publiſhed *Athanaſian Forgeries*, *Impoſitions*, and *Interpolations*, under the title of, *A Lover of Truth, and of true Religion*, 8vo. But I confeſs I was myſelf the author of that pamphlet, as well as of its *Appendix*; being *An Appeal to thirty primitive Councils againſt the* Athanaſian *Hereſy:* Of which preſently, 8vo. Price 1 *s.* 6 *d.*

The ſame year, 1736, I publiſhed, *The Primitive Euchariſt Revived:* or, *An Account of the two firſt Centuries concerning the Celebration of the Lord's Supper*; occaſioned by a late Treatiſe of Biſhop *Hoadley*'s, intituled, *A plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, 8vo. Price 1 *s.* 6 *d.*

N. B. The *Appendix* to my *New Theory*, tho' written 1718, was not printed and added to the *New Theory* itſelf, till its fifth edition, this year, 1736.

I publiſhed the next year 1737, *The Aſtronomical Year:* or, *An Account of the many remarkable cœleſtial Phænomena of the great Year* 1736. Parti-

Particularly of the comet which was foretold by Sir *Iſaac Newton*, and came accordingly. 8vo. Price 6*d*.

On this year alſo, 1736, the late archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Potter*, was removed from *Oxford* to *Lambeth*. I have ſome reaſon to ſpeak my mind freely of him, and of the moſt unhappy change this great exaltation made in him, becauſe the late queen, when conſultation was had who ſhould be made archbiſhop, aſked me about his character, and the book he had written againſt the *Eraſtians*, or for the eccleſiaſtical authority, as diſtinct from the ſtate. For his character at that time was with me as one of great *Piety*, *Learning*, and *Moderation*; and an excellent paſtor of a pariſh, as I heard afterward, without any marks of pride or vanity; whom I accordingly recommended to her majeſty, as one proper to be archbiſhop; which I then ſincerely wiſhed he might be. As to his book, I ſaid it was a very good one; and that he proved his points very well; only that he had taken one thing for granted at laſt, which he could not prove; namely, "That *Conſtantine the Great* did well in giving "temporal power to the clergy." I then little dreamed that this Dr. *Potter*, by going to *Lambeth*, would take high and pontifical ſtate upon him; that he could bear the kneeling of even biſhops before him, when, at a ſolemn meeting of the members of the ſociety for propagating the goſpel in foreign parts, he gave the bleſſing, which I myſelf ſaw: that he would procure half a dozen footmen to walk bare-headed by him, when he was in his coach, three of a ſide; beſides his train-bearer, at ſuch his appearances; that he would give up the poor remains of chriſtian diſcipline, as his predeceſſor had done, and ſometimes ordain ſuch ignoramus's as the great biſhop *Lloyd*, of whom I know

know he had the greateſt opinion, would, upon examination, have hardly thought worthy any holy orders at all; that he would not only bear the groſſeſt flattery to his face, in Dr. *Pierce*'s *Concio ad Clerum*, but declare his approbation of it, by advancing or confirming the advancement of the preacher, to a place of great dignity immediately; and that in conſequence of his pomp, while alive, his executors cauſed him to lie in ſtate when he was dead: that he would ſet his learned chaplain, Dr. *Chapman*, to preach againſt the chriſtians, falſely called *Arians*, at the lady *Moyer*'s lecture; that he would ſend abroad ſuch mean forms of prayer and praiſe, upon days of humiliation and thankſgiving, to flatter the court; ſuch indeed as are ſometimes hardly true, and frequently ſuch as are wholly inconſiſtent with that profound veneration, that kings and princes themſelves, as well as their ſubjects, owe to their Almighty Creator; from whom is derived all the wiſdom and courage, and victory of their greateſt generals. To ſay nothing of that horrid curſing of the chriſtians in the *Athanaſian* creed, which he ſtill ſupported in his own chapel at *Lambeth*, and every where elſe. And I am ſorry, very ſorry, to ſay it, that archbiſhop *Potter* ſeemed to me almoſt as unwilling to open his eyes, to ſee the grievous errors of *Athanaſianiſm*, which are now ſo fully detected, as to be ſinking out of the learned world, as any of the papiſts were to ſee the other groſs errors of popery, at the proteſtant reformation.

N. B. I will add one obſervation here of the inactivity or ignorance of the generality of thoſe that have of late been preferred by the court to be biſhops and deans; nay, or by the biſhops themſelves to be archdeacons alſo, that they know one clergyman, of no preferment at all, that hath written

written more books of learning, and moſt of them for the propagation of truth, and the true chriſtian religion, and for the confutation of ſcepticks and infidels, than all of them, above an hundred in number, put together, have done. To ſo little advantage does the preſent diſpoſal of preferments turn; and ſo little benefit does either church or ſtate receive from the poſſeſſors of them. I here except archbiſhop *Potter*'s learned edition of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, tho' it was publiſhed before he was made either biſhop or archbiſhop. As alſo I might except the late biſhop of *London*'s *Codex*, two large volumes, publiſhed after he was biſhop. But thoſe are ſo far from doing any ſervice to chriſtianity, that they are rather the ſad remains of antichriſtianiſm and popery among us. I conclude this my addreſs to archbiſhop *Potter*, and our other biſhops, with a very remarkable paſſage, which I have lately met with in a ſermon preached at a lord archbiſhop's triennial and ordinary viſitation; I ſuppoſe in the days of queen *Elizabeth*, upon *Eccleſ.* xii. 10. *The preacher did ſeek out pleaſant words.* The account is in theſe words: "There is a ſtory how a "learned friar in *Italy*, famous for his learning "and preaching, was commanded to preach before "the pope at a year of jubilee: and to be the "better furniſhed, he repaired thither a good "while before to *Rome*, to ſee the faſhion of the "conclave, to accommodate his ſermon the bet-"ter. When the day came he was to preach, "having ended his prayer, he looking a long "time about, at laſt he cried with a loud voice "three times, *St.* Peter *was a fool*, *St.* Peter "*was a fool*, *St.* Peter *was a fool.* Which words "ended, he came out of the pulpit. Being after "convened before the pope, and aſked, why he "ſo carried himſelf; he anſwered, ſurely, holy "father,

" father, if a prieſt may go to heaven abounding " in wealth, honour, and preferment, and live at " eaſe, never or ſeldom to preach, then ſurely " *St.* Peter *was a fool*, who took ſuch a hard " way in travelling, in faſting, in preaching, to " go thither."

I cannot therefore but, with great grief, look on the lord chancellor *King*, archbiſhop *Wake*, and archbiſhop *Potter*, as three excellent men utterly ruined by their preferments at court, and proper to teach all other good men this old leſſon, *Exeat aula, qui volet eſſe pius.*

In the ſame year, 1737, I publiſhed, *The genuine Works of* Flavius Joſephus, *the* Jewiſh *Hiſtorian, Engliſh.* Tranſlated from the original *Greek*, according to *Havercamp*'s accurate edition. Containing XX books of *Jewiſh* antiquities; with the *Appendix*, or *Life of Joſephus*, written by himſelf. VII books of the *Jewiſh* War, and II books againſt *Apion.* Illuſtrated with new plans, and deſcriptions of *Solomon*'s, *Zorobabel*'s, *Herod*'s, and *Ezekiel*'s temples; and with correct maps of *Judea* and *Jeruſalem.* Together with proper notes, obſervations, contents, parallel texts of ſcripture, five compleat indexes, and the true chronology of the ſeveral hiſtories adjuſted in the margin. To which are prefixed VIII diſſertations, *viz.*

I. The teſtimonies of *Joſephus* vindicated.

II. The copy of the *Old Teſtament* made uſe of by *Joſephus*, proved to be that which was collected by *Nehemiah.*

III. Concerning God's command to *Abraham*, to offer up his ſon *Iſaac* for a ſacrifice.

IV. A large enquiry into the true chronology of *Joſephus.*

V. An

V. An extract out of *Joſephus*'s exhortation to the *Greeks*, concerning *Hades*, and the reſurrection of the dead.

VI. Proofs that this exhortation is genuine.

VII. A demonſtration that *Tacitus* the *Roman* hiſtorian, took his hiſtory of the *Jews* out of *Joſephus*.

VIII. A diſſertation of *Cellarius*'s againſt *Harduin*, in vindication of *Joſephus*'s hiſtory of the family of *Herod*, from coins:

With an account of the *Jewiſh* coins, weights, and meaſures, folio.

In the ſame year, 1737, I publiſhed *An Account of the* Dœminiacks, *and of the Power of caſting out Dæmons, both in the* New Teſtament, *and in the four firſt Centuries*; occaſioned by a late pamphlet of Dr. *Sykes*'s, intituled, *An Enquiry into the Meaning of* Dæmoniacks *in the* New Teſtament. To which is added an *Appendix*, concerning the *Tythes and Oblations* paid by the *Chriſtians*, during the ſame four centuries, 8vo. Price 1*s*. 6*d*.

The End of the FIRST PART.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE and WRITINGS

OF

Mr. *WILLIAM WHISTON.*

PART II.

IN the year 1738 I ſent the following letter to Mr. *John Depee*, at *Norwich*. He was a ſtranger to me, but one that was to communicate the letter to ſome worthy *Unitarians* at *Norwich*, who had deſired my opinion and advice in ſome points of great conſequence.

April 20, 1738.

For Mr. John Depee, *near* Coſlany Bridge, Norwich.

SIR,

I Received yours of the 8th inſtant, by the perſon you intruſted it with; and by Mr. *Killingworth*, an eminent Baptiſt, and a very good writer, on their ſide, and return you this ſhort anſwer to your queries.

(1.) That the word *God*, when it is made the ſubject of a propoſition, means always the moſt High God, which you ſay Dr. *Clarke* and others grant, I do not know. That it uſually does ſo is very plain, and confeſſed by all. However, the text your *Athanaſian* has pitched upon, 1 *Tim.* iii. 16. is unluckily choſen for a *Determination* of ſuch a controverſy; ſince it is ſo very doubtful whether the true old reading had the word *God* or not. I have now by me a diſſertation of Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s, to diſprove that reading. And upon its peruſal, I cannot ſay, whether the word written by St. *Paul*, were Θεὸς, or Λόγος, or Χριτὸς, or ὃ: which laſt all the *Latin* copies ſuppoſe, and implies the context to have been, *Great is the myſtery of godlineſs, which* was manifeſted in the fleſh, *&c.* Thus do the *Athanaſians* take it alſo for granted, that our Saviour is called, *Rom.* ix. 5. ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς or, *The God over all*, againſt the conſtant language of Chriſtians in the two firſt centuries, which appropriated that character to the Father. Accordingly it appears by no ſmall evidence, that the word Θεὸς was inſerted by the *Montaniſts*; and from them derived to their offspring the *Athanaſians*. See *Athanaſian* forgeries, *p.* 6---12.

As

As to your hypotheſis-maker's famous diſcovery of a ſuperangelical Spirit *united* to the Λόγος, whether taken from Dr. *Knight*, or Dr. *Bennet*, it deſerves no anſwer, till we have ſome proof, that it was the doctrine of the Apoſtolical Age; to which I am fully ſatisfied it was an intire ſtranger. The notion then being conſtant, that the Λόγος himſelf was no other than ſuch a ſuperangelical ſpirit, begotten or created by the Father before the world began. Theſe hypotheſis-makers are the great corrupters of true religion. For myſelf, I dare make none in ſuch a caſe. But having moſt frequently and carefully peruſed all the books of the New Teſtament, received from the Church of *Rome*, and ſtanding in our common Bible, and all the reſt unjuſtly rejected by the *Athanaſians*, and by that Church, and even by us from them, and commonly ſtiled Apoſtolical Fathers only; I atteſt to the world what doctrines, worſhip, and diſcipline I find therein contained; and this without any imaginary ſuppoſals whatſoever. See *Athanaſian* forgeries, *pag.* 105---110.

(2.) Nor do I much deal in ſupporting by *reaſon* what I find in the ſame ſacred books, I now mean thoſe of the Old, as well as New Teſtament, as underſtood in the very next ages alſo, *viz.* That the Divine Perſon that ſo often appeared to the Patriarchs was not the moſt High God, but the Λόγος, having the *Name of God in him*; Ex. xxiii. 21. and the name *Jehovah* communicated to him; and ſpeaking and acting always in the name of the Moſt High God, and by his authority, as his miniſter, and vicegerent among mankind. This is almoſt the conſtant voice of Chriſtian antiquity; *Philo* the *Jew* is alſo full of it; and *Joſephus* had the ſame notion, as alſo I ſuppoſe, had all the Prophets. But whether the vulgar carnal *Jews* did

not imagine that Divine Being, which ſo often appeared to their fore-fathers to have been the Moſt High God himſelf, I cannot certainly tell; however I have treated ſo fully of this in my IVth volume, article XIII. that I ſhall add no more in this place.

(3.) As to my great friend Mr. *Emlyn*'s *Previous Queſtion* about Baptiſm, it was written [long ago, before I was acquainted with him, or had diſcovered the miſtake about infant baptiſm, and that upon the principles of Doctor *Wall*'s hiſtory of infant baptiſm, or] with acuteneſs *ad hominem*, as we ſay, but ſeems to me deſtitute of all real foundation. The authority of the Talmud, and the modern Rabbins no way deſerving any regard, when they not only are unſupported but contradicted by all other genuine evidence. Nor do I believe any ſuch baptiſm of proſelytes, till *John* the Baptiſt. I have ſent you my old paper of baptiſm, which includes the teſtimonies of two centuries relating to that matter, wherein, page 25, you have this apoſtolical injunction, let no one eat of the *Euchariſt* that is not initiated; but thoſe only who have been baptized unto the death of the Lord; and in page 34. the expreſs teſtimony of *Juſtin Martyr*, one that might be ten years old when St. *John* died, it is not lawful for any to partake of the Euchariſt, but ſuch as believe the things we teach, and have received that waſhing which is for the remiſſion of their ſins, and regeneration; ſo that you muſt then confine the Euchariſt to proſelytes alſo. By *infants and little children* the conſtitutions and other ancient writings mean only ſuch with relation to baptiſm as were catechiſed before baptiſm, as their whole current implies; and as the paper about infant baptiſm will abundantly prove; the diſcovery of which ſecret made

made me a Baptiſt twenty-ſix years ago. I have ſent you alſo my old paper of the ancient creeds, which I call the *Magna Charta* of Chriſtianity; in oppoſition to which evidence for the ancient faith of Chriſtians, I take the pretended occaſional criticiſms, and little hypotheſes of the *Athanaſians* to be mere trifles. I heartily wiſh Mr. *Scot* the younger all happineſs and ſucceſs in his intentions to reſtore Primitive Chriſtianity, but hope he would avoid, as much as poſſible, the introducing of any controverſies into the pulpit, which ought generally to be ſacred to the fundamental doctrines, and practical duties of the Goſpel.

I am, SIR, your hearty well wiſher,

and humble ſervant,

Will. Whiſton.

IN the ſame year, 1738, I publiſh'd *The Longitude diſcovered by the Eclipſes, Occultations, and Conjunctions of* Jupiter's *Planets.* To which was added the *Configurations* of thoſe Planets for the latter Half of that year. But I afterwards added, in its Stead, A Table of the Eclipſes, Occultations, and Conjunctions of ſuch of thoſe Planets as might be uſeful in the diſcovery of the Longitude for the years 1739, 1740, 1741, and 1742. With a large Hiſtorical Preface, reaching till the year 1745, 8*vo.* Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

N. B.

N. B. I procured a copy of thoſe tables by which theſe eclipſes were calculated for that ſkilful Author of our annual *Ephemerides*, the late Mr. *Weaver*. Whence he has every year ſince given us their calculations to the great advantage of Aſtronomers and Obſervers.

Since I have ſo long and ſo kindly been treated at *Finchley*, by the now very old Man Mr. *Henry Whichcote*, and particularly by his Son, Mr. *Paul Whichcote*, ſo as to make it, when I pleaſe, my place of reſt and retirement, and where I take always the freedom to communicate and debate any of my notions and diſcoveries before they are publiſhed: And ſince I was in theſe years, 1738 and 1739, intruſted with the recommendation of a good number of poor Clergymen, to a charity left by one of that family, I cannot but add a ſmall account of it in this place. Dr. *Whichcote* was the moſt noted perſon in it, who in *Oliver*'s days was provoſt of *King's College*, *Cambridge*, and one whom Biſhop *Burnet*, in the Hiſtory of his Own Times, juſtly recounts among the beſt of the clergy and preachers in the next reign; whoſe ſermons were admired and publiſhed by Archdeacon *Jefferies*: he was brother to the father of the family, of which family I am going to ſpeak. Sir *Paul Whichcote* of *Quoi*, by *Cambridge*, was the eldeſt Brother; whom I knew: and who had a ſmall but elegant chapel for his family prayers, which were twice in a day there attended: Which his ſon Sir *Francis Whichcote*, in *Lincolnſhire*, with whom I am alſo acquainted, imitates. Sir *Paul* died at about 79 years of age. The next brother of the family died about 83. The next was a ſiſter, the Lady *Pemberton*, who lived till about 87. The next alſo lived till about 87. Who beſide

ſide the large proviſion he made for his relation, my friend, Mr. *Paul Whichcote*, left 1200 *l.* among 30 clergymen of good reputation, who had not of their own, or in Church-preferment, ſo much as 30 *l.* a year; *i. e.* 40 *l.* a-piece. Mr. *Paul Whichcote*, who was the perſon that took the care of this benefaction, deſired my Aſſiſtance in finding out fit objects, and took near half of my nomination: and by his and my own great care, ſuch objects were found out, and had each their 40 *l.* undiminiſhed, as, upon after enquiries, not one have appeared to be unworthy of it. Which is a caſe ſo uncommon, that it well deſerves to be remembered and imitated by others on the like occaſion. The laſt of the brothers, Mr. *Henry*, a worthy and religious man, is now in the 96th year of his age, and, abating his deafneſs and blindneſs, is ſtrong and hearty at this day.

In *May* 1739, after the Death of Mr. *Sanderſon*, my ſucceſſor in the Mathematic Profeſſorſhip at *Cambridge*, I wrote, and ſent the following Letter to Dr. *Aſhton*, maſter of *Jeſus* College; the only ſurviving head of a college that ſigned my baniſhment from the Univerſity; tho' by all that I could learn, he did not ſo much as ſhew it to any other of the Heads, till after they had choſen Mr. *Colſon* for another of my ſucceſſors. An hardſhip this plainly indefenſible and unnaccountable!

London, May 10, 1739.

Much honoured Sir,

IT having pleaſed God to prolong my life and health till after the death of my ſucceſſor, Mr. *Sanderſon*; and you, Sir, being the only Head of a College now alive, whoſe name is to

my baniſhment from the Univerſity; an hardſhip, indeed, that I could not but ſorely regret, from ſo good a ſcholar, and ſo good a man as yourſelf; I think I may now venture to put in my claim to the ſame Profeſſorſhip again: the right to which was never any further taken from me than in conſequence of that baniſhment. I then, by the beſt advice, made a Deputy; as, by Mr. *Lucas*'s Statutes, I was impowered to do, Mr. *Chriſtopher Huſſey* of *Trinity* College; who was ready to perform his duty, had not the heat of that time prevented him. You know, Sir, very well, that I was not baniſhed for any immorality, or neglect of my duty as Profeſſor, nor by Mr. *Lucas*'s Statutes; but barely for (1) my affirming, with our Saviour, St. *Paul*, the *Nicene*, and all the original Creeds, and moſt ancient Fathers, that *the one only God of the Chriſtians is God the Father.* (2) My aſſerting an undoubted matter of fact, that the original Chriſtian Doxology was not the common one, but *Glory be to the Father, through the Son*, or, and *the Son, in the Holy Ghoſt.* (3) My *propoſing* to prove that the *Conſtitutions and Doctrine of the Apoſtles*, are ſacred Books of the New Teſtament; and the former of them, *the moſt ſacred of the Canonical Books.* As the authentic accounts of that tranſaction, long ago by me made public, do clearly prove. Certainly, Sir, the loſs of about twenty ſeven years ſalary of my Profeſſorſhip, with the other conſequent difficulties, put upon me during all thoſe years, is more than a ſufficient puniſhment for thoſe offences of mine, if ſuch they were: and that it is high time for you, Sir, in particular, to move the other Heads of the Univerſity to conſider of the equity, if not of the juſtice of my caſe; and to reſtore me to my membership

berſhip again: the conſequence of which will be this, that I be either re-admitted or re-elected into my former Profeſſorſhip. Which when done, I do hereby promiſe the Univerſity either to come and reſide, and do the duty of my place myſelf, if it may be done without the diſſatisfaction of that body; or elſe I will, according to the power given in the ſtatutes, make a good and ſufficient deputy to ſupply my place, and do it for me. Sure, Sir, this propoſal cannot be eſteemed other than very reaſonable by any; much leſs by yourſelf, whoſe former baniſhment of me ſhould make you more ready to procure me ſome redreſs for all thoſe unhappy troubles that ſucceeded it. My differences in opinions from yourſelf or others, no way relating to the Profeſſorſhip of the Mathematics, cannot certainly merit the continuance of my puniſhment any longer; which therefore I hope you will endeavour to prevent: and if you do ſo endeavour to prevent it, I have little reaſon to doubt but you will ſucceed in it. So far at leaſt I inſiſt on your fairneſs to me, that you communicate this letter to the Vice-chancellor, and the reſt of the Heads of Colleges, as ſoon as may be, before they are engaged for any other, that they may not be unappriſed of my claim, my deſires and promiſes in the preſent caſe. It not being my intention to write to any other of them in particular, but to yourſelf only; to whom I heartily wiſh all happineſs, as well as to the whole Univerſity, of which I was many years formerly, and deſire once more to be admitted a member: And, I am,

S I R, Your very affectionate Brother, and humble Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

N. B. This

N. B. This Dr. *Aſhton* publiſhed himſelf many years ago, an excellent edition of *Origen*, Περὶ Ευχῆς. After which I aſked Dr. *Bentley*, then Maſter of *Trinity* College, and *Regius* Profeſſor of Divinity, why they did not baniſh Dr. *Aſhton*, as they had done me for *Arianiſm?* ſince he had publiſh'd the groſſeſt *Arian* book extant in all antiquity; as this treatiſe of *Origen*'s is known to be. He replied; but the Notes are Orthodox. To which I anſwered, will orthodox Notes make an *Arian* book other than *Arian?*

In the ſame year 1739 I publiſhed *A Collection of Original Texts and Teſtimonies of Antiquity that relate to Chriſtian Diſcipline*, with Notes. As alſo An Humble and Serious Addreſs to the Clergy, for the Reſtoration of the ſame *Diſcipline*, 8vo. Price 1s. 6d.

N. B. Since the publication of this pamphlet, I have met with light as to both thoſe practices, which I doubted of when I firſt wrote it, *pag.* 44. I mean the *anointing the ſick with oil*, which I have very lately ſatisfied myſelf to be certainly a Chriſtian duty at this day; as has already appeared; and the uſe of incenſe at the Euchariſt; which I have found not to be ſo.

In the year 1740 was publiſh'd at *Utrecht*, by that prodigy of a young man, Mr. *Philip Baratier*, *A Chronological Enquiry about the moſt ancient Biſhops of* Rome, *from* Peter *to* Victor; with *four other diſſertations about the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, and* Ignatius's *Epiſtles*, &c. Of which I gave an account in my three Tracts, *p.* 43—89. Out of which I got far more light, as I there profeſs, in ſeveral points relating to the original ſtate of Chriſtianity, than from all the other writings that have been publiſh'd, ſince I firſt publiſh'd my own

Works

Works thereto relating, *p.* 45. where alſo I have ordered this addition to be made in any future edition of thoſe tracts: that " till Mr. *Baratier* " wrote upon theſe Conſtitutions, and *Ignatius*'s " larger Epiſtles, like a real ſcholar, and one " well verſed in Chriſtian antiquity, theſe pre- " cious remains of the Apoſtolical Age were hard- " ly looked into with the leaſt degree of judg- " ment and impartiality by any of the learned; " even ſince I publiſhed them, and wrote ſo fully " and largely in their vindication. The learned " Mr. *le Clerk* wrote againſt the Conſtitutions ſo " poorly, in the preface to his edition of *Cotele-* " *rius*, that I had not patience to confute him. " and for the learned Dr. *Whitby*, he was ſo ſe- " cure of their being ſpurious at random, that he " ſeemed to think them unworthy of any ſcholar's " conſideration. He only ſaying, as I have " heard as to my believing them genuine, *that* " *this was for a Madman to do, or rather for one* " *worſe than a madman. Non ſani eſſe hominis,* " *non ſanus juret Oreſtes.* To ſuch a degree of " contempt have the original laws of Chriſt " therein contained been reduced among the moſt " learned modern Chriſtians!

In the next year, 1740, I publiſhed a Treatiſe, entituled, *The Eternity of Hell Torments conſidered:* or, a Collection of Texts of Scripture, and Teſtimonies of the Three Firſt Centuries relating to them. With Notes and Obſervations, 8*vo.* Price 2*s.*

In the following year, 1741, I publiſh'd *An Appeal to* xxx *primitive Councils againſt the* Athanaſian *Hereſy. A ſingle ſheet, as an Appendix to the* Athanaſian *Forgeries* already mentioned. 8*vo.* Price 3*d.* Which together prevent all poſſible Pretences for the Vindication of *Athanaſianiſm* hereafter by Learned Men.

N. B. Upon

N. B. Upon occaſion of theſe perfectly unanſwerable papers, it may not be amiſs to take notice of a thin quarto book, printed in *Germany*; which contains a collection of the Theſes of many young men, who were candidates for degrees there, to confute my doctrines; and without oppoſing which doctrines, I ſuppoſe they could not obtain thoſe degrees: and to obſerve what poor replies they were ſometimes able to make to my ſtrongeſt arguments, ſo that when I read ſome of them, I could hardly forbear ſmiling at them; nor can I ſuppoſe they were all unapprized of that their ſtrength. Whence we may eaſily learn how very weak arguments, joined to great prejudices and great intereſts in this world, can overbear the ſtrongeſt arguments.

N. B. To confirm this laſt reflection, give me leave to produce Mr. *Godfrey Waſhington* of *Peterhouſe*, in *Cambridge*, as an example, perfectly unparallel'd in this way: this Mr. *Waſhington* was an exceeding good and religious man, and one of the beſt paſtors of a pariſh in *Cambridge*; a through *Athanaſian*, but by no means acquainted with Chriſtian antiquity; tho' he was my particular friend, and took the principal care of the charity-ſchools when I was baniſhed; which burden till that time had chiefly been laid upon me. Mr. *Waſhington* was ſo terribly affrighted at the information he had received, that I had produced a very great number of primitive teſtimonies againſt the *Athanaſians:* I ſaid he had *received information* of this, for I never heard that he durſt read any of them himſelf, that I was told he ſaid, "That if there were in antiquity *one* teſtimony "in *forty* for the doctrine of the church, he "would continue an *Athanaſian* ſtill." A very moderate proportion this, to be contented withall! and yet in ſome of the principal points hardly to be made

made out. The ſame Mr. *Waſhington* being one of thoſe members of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* that had 30 *l.* a year given them by the Biſhop of *London*'s project for preaching at Court, in order to induce the Univerſity to favour the Court, choſe once to preach there againſt the *Arians*, from *Mark* xiii. 32. *Of that day and hour knoweth no one, no not the angels that are in Heaven, neither the Son but the Father*; which with its parallel, as read in the original copies, *Mat.* xxiv. 36. *Neither the Son, but the Father only*, are the ſtrongeſt texts againſt the *Athanaſians*, in the whole New Teſtament: he eſteeming his cauſe gain'd, if he could vindicate the hardeſt text of all on the other ſide. His vindication conſiſted in this, that *Chriſt* was not bound to tell the whole truth in this Matter; and tho' he did really *know the day and hour* of the future judgment, yet he might deny that he knew it. He illuſtrated the point by this parallel caſe: ſuppoſe ſaid he, you ſhould go to the firſt miniſter (Sir *Robert Walpole*) and aſk him to tell you ſome ſecret of ſtate policy, do you think he would tell it you truly? by no means: ſo that our zealous *Athanaſian*, rather than give up his opinion, would ſuppoſe our bleſſed Saviour to be more ſly and knaviſh than a prevaricating Miniſter of State; while he could put the enquirer off with a ſhuffling anſwer, without telling a direct untruth: but our Saviour is ſuppoſed to tell a direct untruth in the caſe before us. This account would be almoſt incredible, but that I was told it immediately by one of the auditors, Mr. *Whately*, who was almoſt in an agony at what he had heard; and did not know who was the preacher, till by his deſcription of white hair and other circumſtances, I eaſily diſcover'd it to be no other than my old friend Mr. *Waſhington*. But to proceed;

In

In *Auguſt* this year, 1741, died my great and good friend Mr. *Thomas Emlyn*; who had been a much earlier and a much greater ſufferer and confeſſor for Old Chriſtianity than Dr. *Clarke*, or myſelf, or any other Unitarian that I knew of. My thoughts of whoſe character I ſhall deſire my readers to take, from part of my letter to his ſon, *Sollom Emlyn*, Eſq; Barriſter at Law, my very worthy Chriſtian friend (who has ſo faithfully written his father's own life, and his father's account of Dr. *Clarke*, that I can myſelf atteſt to much the greateſt part of both their contents). This letter was written immediately after I heard of his death, in the words following.

Lyndon, Auguſt 15th, 1741.

Dear Sir,

I Did not receive your melancholy letter, till the ſame day that the public news informed us of the death of your father, tho' ſon *John* had given us notice of it before. I ſincerely condole with yourſelf, Mrs. *Emlyn*, and his other relations and friends upon the loſs of one whom we all greatly and juſtly loved, on account of his perfect integrity, ſtrong judgment, great courage, and moſt Chriſtian temper; which were eſpecially ſhewn in making a *good confeſſion* of ſome of the moſt important truths of our holy religion; and that not only of late, when that confeſſion is (God be praiſed) not of ſuch ill reputation, or ſo dangerous, but when it was under the greateſt odium, and expoſed men to terrible penalties. Accordingly, I look upon his loſſes and ſufferings in *Ireland* as next to martyrdom; for which he was well prepared; and I eſteem him as the firſt and principal confeſſor with us, for thoſe articles of Primitive Chriſtianity; nor are what Dr. *Clarke*,

or

or Mr. *Jackſon*, or myſelf, or Mr. *Tomkins*, or Mr. *Gibbs*, &c. have loſt on the like account to be compared to them. Had I been in *London*, I ſhould very readily have afforded him all the aſſiſtance I was able; tho' perhaps that fever which carried him off might not thoroughly permit him to join in ſuch devotions, as otherwiſe he was highly diſpoſed for, and deſirous of in the laſt period of his holy life. However, 'tis now ſeveral years, that he has waited 'till the day of his appointed time, when his great change ſhould come; and after ſuch an incurable infirmity as he has long had, you ſhould no way be ſurprized at his death, ſince at 78 he is come to his full age, *like as a ſhock of corn cometh in his ſeaſon.* Since his habitual preparation and uncommon degree of piety was all along ſo remarkable, there is no doubt but he is now where all good men deſire to be, in that *land of the pious*, *in Paradiſe*, in the *boſom of Abraham*, *whence all ſorrow*, *grief and lamentation*, *are baniſhed: to be at laſt* among thoſe *ſouls of the righteous which are in the Hand of God*, *where no torment can touch them.* Nor ought we to *ſorrow* for any good Chriſtian, as *others which have no hope* in their death, much leſs for ſo eminent and religious a Chriſtian as your father was, nor indeed did the ancient religious patriarchs ſeem to have been ſo unwilling to die, as good Chriſtians are in our latter ages. And as for the martyrs, they were carried to their graves, when they were permitted to have any, with hymns of praiſe for their having eſcaped the *miſeries of this ſinful world*; and the day of their martyrdoms were called the *day of their nativity*, and celebrated yearly with great joy, *&c.*

Your affectionate friend and ſervant,

Will. Whiſton.

In

In the year 1742, I publiſhed III. Tracts, containing

I. A Letter to the then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; with two Accounts of the laying aſide Unſcriptural Articles at *Geneva*, 1706. And the King of *Pruſſia*'s Letter to the Clergy at *Geneva*, in commendation of thoſe Proceedings.

II. An Abſtract of the Minutes of our ſociety, for promoting Primitive Chriſtianity.

III. An Account of Mr. *Baratier*'s Enquiries into the Chronology, the Doctrines, and Diſcipline of the Primitive Church. 8vo. Price 1 *s.* 6 *d.*

N. B. What is now at the end of page 53, of theſe Tracts, in all 54 and 55, and almoſt all the 56th, is ſo much better ſtated in my *Sacred Hiſtory of the New Teſtament*, page 87, 88, 597, 608, that I deſire thoſe pages may be quite omitted in future Editions.

About the year 1744 Dr. *Webſter* publiſhed and ſent me a ſmall paper, for the Payment of Tythes to the Clergy, and that as of ſuch indefeaſible right, that the Meſſiah himſelf could hardly alter it; and at the end, hinted that this his writing was, in a manner, put upon him by inſpiration. Whereas the fact is plain, and proved in my account of tythes before mentioned; that thoſe tythes were indeed to be paid originally into the Biſhop's hands, but not to ſupport either himſelf or his Preſbyters or Deacons, but to be diſtributed to the widows, the orphans, the poor, and ſtrangers in diſtreſs; and beſides to the orders inferior to deacons, who moſt probably were of the poorer ſort alſo; while the firſt fruits and voluntary oblations were allotted to the maintenance of the Superior Clergy, Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons. See the forementioned paper, page 77, 78. But when Dr. *Webſter* intimates

timates a divine impulſe for a Clergyman to write in vindication of Tythes to be paid Clergymen, contrary to the original law of Chriſtianity; *Credat Judas Apella, non ego. Chriſt* has indeed *ordained* that *thoſe that preach the Goſpel ſhould live of the Goſpel*; which gives the Clergy a right to a maintenance: But that the maintenance ſhould be by the Application of the Tythes thereto, is no where ordained: However, Clergymen ſhould always get Laymen to write for their maintenance, but never ſhould do it themſelves.

In the year 1744 I publiſhed a *ſingle Sheet* about our *Saviour*'s *Reſurrection*, from *Beza*'s double Copy of the IV Goſpels, and Acts of the Apoſtles; with ſome Obſervations, ſhewing that almoſt all the difficulties which have long puzzled the moſt learned Commentators in our vulgar Copies are here cleared, by this much more antient and much more authentic Copy, 8vo. price *3d.* It is added alſo a little corrected at the end of my Primitive New Teſtament.

In the year 1745-6 I publiſhed Biſhop *Sherlock*'s moſt excellent Sermon, preached at *Saliſbury*, *October* 6th, 1745, when he was in dread of Popery and Perſecution; which makes men much better Chriſtians than times of Proſperity. Concerning whom I ſhall add a few things. When his Lordſhip made a Speech *for Bribery and Corruption*, in the Houſe of Lords, for it was eſteem'd no better at that time, I took ſuch a prejudice againſt him, that I did not go to dine with him for a great while, as I uſed ſometimes to do before. This I told Mr. *Venn*, who was acquainted with us both; and this was ſo well underſtood by the Biſhop, that he told Mr. *Venn* himſelf, that he believed ſomewhat was the matter between us: Mr. *Venn* knew what it was, but durſt not tell it. At laſt, when I was once at the

Maſter of the Rolls, Sir *Joſeph Jekyl*'s, the Biſhop came upon us on the ſudden, and aſk'd me, what the matter was that I did not come as uſual to dine with him ſometimes? I ſaid, no my Lord, never ſince your political Speech in the Houſe of Lords. He reply'd, that I knew he took my reproofs patiently, and he was deſirous I would come to him as formerly. I anſwered, No my Lord, political Biſhops are the ruin of all [Religion:] and ſo I went away in ſome indignation. Moreover, I well remember, that when I had preſented to his Lordſhip the ſecond Edition of my *Eſſay on the Revelation of St.* John, and he had found I had introduced a Brother Politician of his, the Author of the *Codex*, as one that was aiming at a new kind of Perſecution, which I call the *Codex Perſecution*; he knew not how to bear my new expoſition. I acknowledged it to be a new one, but juſtified what I had ſo lately diſcovered; and I venture to affirm ſtill, that I take that my late diſcovery and expoſition of thoſe matters to be both very true and very conſiderable alſo. I alſo well remember, that I once enquired of his Lordſhip, "How the Church of *England* "could pretend to be ſo pure and primitive, as "ſhe has long boaſted herſelf to be, while ſhe "ſtill retains the Book of *Canticles* in her Bible, "and the *Athanaſian Creed* in her Common Prayer "Book?" To which he made me no anſwer. And I really believe no good anſwer can poſſibly be made to either of thoſe queſtions. I farther wiſh, very heartily wiſh, that this Biſhop *Sherlock*, who is ſo well able to ſpeak both in Parliament and Convocation, would be the firſt to propoſe the excluſion of that Book and that Creed. If he would do it, I verily hope ſeveral good men would ſecond him, and not one ſober man would oppoſe him, in either of thoſe places; and he might

might thereby begin that public Reformation, without which not only revealed, but even natural Religion are ſoon likely to be baniſhed out of theſe Kingdoms. And when they are once baniſhed, where I pray will be the Church of *England?*

In the year 1745 I publiſhed my *Primitive New Teſtament* in *Engliſh*, in IV Parts. Part I. Containing the IV Goſpels of *Matthew*, *John*, *Luke*, and *Mark*; with the *Acts* of the Apoſtles; according to the *Greek* Part of the Manuſcript of *Beza*, now probably above 1600 years old, in the public Library of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, collated by *Patrick Young*, Abp. *Uſher*; and at leaſt twice by Dr. *Mills*, beſides a ſtill later collation. The imperfections of this Copy are here ſupplied from the vulgar Latin.

Part II. Containing the XIV Epiſtles of *Paul.*

According to the *Greek* of the *Clermont* manuſcript, now probably between 1400 and 1500 years old, in the King of *France*'s Library at *Paris*: According to the collation in Dr. *Mill*'s New Teſtament; the *Latin* of which copy is part of the old *Italick* verſion, made early in the ſecond Century.

Part III. Containing VII Catholic Epiſtles.

Part IV. The Revelation of *John.*

All according to the *Greek Alexandrian* manuſcript, now about 1400 years old, according to Dr. *Mills*'s collation.

N. B. The obſervations belonging to this and the other Books of the New Teſtament are all to be found in my *Sacred Hiſtory of the New Teſtament*, in their proper places.

N. B. I was at *Chriſt*'s Church in this year, 1746, as uſual, on *Midſummer-Day*, when near 5000 poor Charity Children appeared in their new Cloaths, and had a very good Sermon preached before them, and their Stewards, and a pretty numerous congregation, by Dr. *Lavington*. I mention this becauſe ſuch a ſight is to me a far more agreeable one, than what all the Court and City can furniſh elſewhere; as giving me a kind of proſpect and hopes of the real Reſtitution one Day of the *Primitive Catechumens and Illuminates*, with their Chriſtian Inſtructions, Baptiſm, and the Euchariſt, all ſucceeding one another: Which may they quickly be reſtored among us, and in all Chriſtendom!

N. B. When I was at *Penſehurſt*, Dr. *Hammond*'s old Living, during my firſt day's ſtay at *Tunbridge Wells*, on *Saturday Auguſt* 23*d*, 1746 (Which Living of near 400*l.* a year had been offered me by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with whom I had not the leaſt acquaintance, above 5 years before, but was by me refuſed; as the Reader may find in my Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* thereupon, printed in my *Three Tracts*, Page 1--12) I was very kindly received by my Succeſſor, for ſo I call him, Mr. *Williams*; and was very glad to find that the Flock which ſhould have been committed to my Care, could my Conſcience have complied with the qualifications our unhappy Laws have made neceſſary, (which what they are, the Reader may ſee before, Page 72—75) were under the Care of Mr. *Williams*, a worthy perſon and very good Paſtor, as he is univerſally allowed to be. I went thither twice, and was the ſecond time ſhewed by Mr. *Perry*, the preſent poſſeſſor of the *Sidney* eſtate there, a ſingular paſſage, taken out of a printed original letter, written about

A. D.

A. D. 1642, which directly imports that the great Mr. *Chillingworth*, how ſagacious and honeſt ſoever, at laſt defended *Socinianiſm*, and was therein utterly and immediately confuted by that excellent perſon, the Lord *Falkland*. See papers of State belonging to the *Sidney* family, Vol. II. Page 669. (I mean this only in caſe the Writer of the Letter well underſtood the difference between *Arianiſm* and *Socinianiſm*, which are often confounded one with another.) So that this Mr. *Chillingworth* had a ſtrange diffidence and mutability of temper; which had made him when firſt a Proteſtant to turn Papiſt; and when a Papiſt to turn Proteſtant again; then to favour *Arianiſm*, as it is called, and on that account, in part by refuſing to ſign the 39 Articles, to loſe ſome expected preferment; then to ſign the 39 Articles, and accept of preferment, and after all to defend *Socinianiſm* itſelf. Which is ſuch a round of contrarieties, as is hard to be parallel'd in any other learned man whomſoever. To be ſure he at firſt wanted my darling motto, *Conſider well and act ſteadily*; nor had he afterward *the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions and Canons* for his immoveable guide and ſtandard, as I have now had near 40 years, which would have prevented all this uncertainty of conduct; and without which the ſeveral parties in *Chriſtendom* have long been, and are ſtill likely to be, in *polemical Controverſies*, *polemical endleſs Controverſies*, one with another. Nor will thoſe *polemical Controverſies* ever ceaſe, I venture to affirm it, till thoſe *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions and Canons* are admitted as the ſtanding rule of Chriſtianity.

Memorandum, That on *Auguſt* the 24th this Year 1746, being *Lord*'s Day, and St. *Bartholomew*'s Day, I breakfaſted at Mr. *Bay*'s, a diſſenting Miniſter at *Tunbridge Wells*, and a ſucceſſor, tho'

not immediate to Mr. *Humphrey Ditton*, and like him a very good Mathematician alſo: I told him, that I had juſt then come to a reſolution, to go out always from the public worſhip of the Church of *England*, whenever the reader of Common Prayer read the *Athanaſian* Creed; which I eſteemed a public curſing the Chriſtians: As I expected it might be read at the Chapel that very day, it being one of the thirteen days in the year, when the *Rubrick* appoints it to be read. Accordingly I told him, that I fully reſolved to go out of the Chapel that very day, if the Miniſter of the Place began to read it. He told me, that Mr. *Dowding* the Miniſter, who was then a perfect ſtranger to me, had omitted it on a *Chriſtmas-Day*, and ſo he imagined he did not uſe to read it. This proved to be true, ſo I had no opportunity afforded me then, to ſhew my deteſtation of that monſtrous Creed: Yet have I ſince put in practice that reſolution, and did ſo the firſt time at *Lincolns-Inn* Chapel, on St. *Simon* and St. *Jude*'s Day, *October* 28th, 1746, when Mr. *Rawlins* began to read it, and I then went out and came in again when it was over, as I always reſolved to do afterwards. Accordingly on St. *Andrew*'s Day, *November* 30th, the ſame year, when Mr. *Harriſon* began to read it, at St. *George*'s Church, *Queen-Square*, I then went out, and came in again when it was over: However, before I went to *Tunbridge Wells* Chapel, that very morning I received by the *London* Poſt, from a perſon perfectly unknown to me, a very remarkable and important letter; which will be ſet down in due place hereafter. Now before I declare my direct opinion in this important matter, which was deſired by the writer, I ſhall endeavour to vindicate myſelf, at leaſt in *part*, from this ſad imputation of *Hypocriſy*, as to my former practice; tho' perhaps it will not be ſufficient

ſufficient to vindicate me *in the whole*, becauſe I might have more fully declared my abhorrence of the *Athanaſian* doctrines and curſes, by going out of the Church while they were read, than by barely omitting to repeat that creed, with which I contented myſelf ſeveral years at firſt; or by ſitting down alſo, while it was read, as I have now done for many years. However, that no honeſt man may blame me more than I deſerve, I ſhall repeat here what I formerly ſaid, when Mr. *Henley* charged me with joining in *Idolatrous Worſhip*, or even of *bowing down in the Houſe of Rimmon*, by my frequenting the public ſervice of the Church of *England*. Upon which occaſion my words were theſe in the paper to him relating, page 29, 30. Where I "openly declare that how "unjuſtifiable ſoever I have long thought ſome "inſtances of worſhip in the *Athanaſian* Churches, "and particularly in the Church of *England*, "with which I uſually join in public worſhip "and the Euchariſt; I mean during the great diſ-"treſs I am at preſent in, between joining in a "Church not yet free from the *Athanaſian* hereſy "in public Worſhip, or of omitting almoſt all "public Worſhip at all; yet did I never think "that undue Worſhip of the Son and Holy "Spirit, as equal to God the Father, which the "modern *Athanaſians* have long ventured upon, "without, I verily think, nay againſt the entire "Old and New Teſtament, and without, nay, "againſt all the other ancient records of Chriſ-"tianity; to be, ſtrictly ſpeaking, in the lan-"guage of Scripture, the crime of *Idolatry*. It is "neither the worſhip of *falſe Gods*, nor of *Dæmons*, "nor of their *Images* or *Idols*; as was that of the "*Syrian Idol Rimmon*, which was *Idolatry* againſt "the *firſt* Commandment. Nor is it the worſhip "of the *true God* by an *Image* or *Idol*; as was that

" of the *golden Calves* by *Aaron* and *Jeroboam*, " which was *Idolatry* againſt the *ſecond* Command- " ment. Nor indeed is the *worſhip of Angels*, " tho' nearer to Scripture Idolatry than that be- " fore us, called by St. *Paul Idolatry*. Coloſ. ii. " 18. So that had I joined with the Church in " this *Athanaſian* Worſhip; how criminal ſoever " I had been on other accounts in ſo doing; yet " had I not, in my own judgment, been guilty " of that moſt heinous crime of *Scripture Idolatry*. " But that I ever *join* in that *Athanaſian* Worſhip " in any degree; or ſo much as appear to join in " it, when I join in other parts of the public " Worſhip, is notoriouſly falſe. Every body " that takes notice of my conſtant behaviour in " the public ſervice, may eaſily perceive, that I " never join in any of thoſe parts of the *Nicene* " Creed, of the Litany, or of the Doxologies, or " of any Prayers or Worſhip whatſoever, that " are of that kind. And that whenever I am " preſent when the *Athanaſian* Creed, that *Shame* " *and Reproach of the public Worſhip of the Church* " *of* England is there repeated, I do always ſit " down, to ſhew the whole Congregation my diſ- " agreeing thereto; ſo that if our *Orator* be re- " ſolved to repreſent the Church of *England*, as in " this reſpect *Idolatrous*, and the places of her " public Worſhip as *Houſes of Rimmon*, he ought " to repreſent me as one that abſolutely *refuſe to* " *bow down in the Houſe of Rimmon*, upon any " occaſion of Idolatry whatſoever. And I far- " ther declare, that I ſhall not think it lawful " for me any longer to frequent that public " Worſhip, than I am not only permitted to join " in the reſt of it, without joining with the *Atha-* " *naſian Parts*, but permitted to make this open " declaration that I do not, and dare not join in " in thoſe parts for any conſideration."

But

But although I myſelf, who have been all along ſo open and undiſguiſed in my whole conduct, in oppoſition to all my wordly intereſts and perſuaſions of friends whatſoever in theſe Sacred Matters, have ſo much of excuſe to make for myſelf; yet is not that the caſe of the generality of thoſe who agree with me in private, but do not care to hazard any part of their reputation, or eaſe, or preferments in public, for the ſake of Truth alone, and true Religion. It is therefore in vain to urge theſe private proſelytes in the eſtabliſhed Church, to go over to any of the Diſſenters for greater Purity of Worſhip as the fore-mention'd Letter propoſes; ſince that will equally, if not more, contradict their intereſt in this World, than their imitation of me would amount to. Otherwiſe it is certainly very much more neceſſary for them to ſeparate from the eſtabliſhed Church, on account of theſe Points of great Moment, and at the loweſt, near the fundamentals of Chriſtianity, than very many of theſe Diſſenters did of old ſeparate from the Church of *England*, about Forms of Prayer, or Surplices, or the Croſs in Baptiſm, *&c.* which are comparatively very ſmall differences. Nor can the Church of *England*, while ſhe ſupports ſuch groſs corruptions and curſes of primitive Chriſtianity, juſtly blame any of her former Members, who on theſe accounts ſeparate from her Communion. However, there are ſome reaſons why I have difficulties upon me in wholly deſerting the public Service of the Church of *England*, for that of any of our preſent Diſſenters. They frequently, if not conſtantly, make uſe of extempore prayers, even in their public Worſhip; which renders it uncertain in many caſes, whether ſeveral things either falſe, or unworthy of God, may not be uttered in their aſſemblies: And thereby I may be obliged to join unwarily in what I came thither

to

to avoid, to my own diſſatisfaction, tho' I confeſs I have hardly ever been ſenſible of ſuch unlawful petitions ſince I left the eſtabliſhed Church: Nor can I ever, I confeſs, join in any devotions ſo earneſtly, as in thoſe Forms I am moſt perfectly acquainted with. Nor have I, in all my reſearches into *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* antiquity ever found that public Worſhip was truſted to extempore devotions; excepting the caſe of the extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit, in a few particular Churches, on extraordinary occaſions, in the age of the Apoſtles. Altho' I muſt alſo profeſs I have not found that any of thoſe public Forms were of a bare human compoſure; but were rather of Apoſtolical; nay, probably of Divine Original. Beſides this, our Diſſenters uſually confine their public Worſhip to the Lord's Day only; while it ought in all places, where a ſufficient number of Chriſtians are in the neighbourhood, to be twice every day; a conſtant *Morning and Evening Sacrifice*. Nor do the ſame Diſſenters any where, that I know of, adminiſter the Holy Communion every Lord's Day; as it ought to be: All which things uſed to be in ſome meaſure provided for in both the Pariſhes where I lately frequented the public Worſhip in *London*, St. *Dunſtan*'s in the Weſt, and St. *George*'s, *Queen-ſquare*; where I uſed not to fail to be preſent, unleſs hindred by ſickneſs or extraordinary occaſions. In ſhort, to determine the queſtion propoſed to me, I ſee no very right way of avoiding all the before-mentioned difficulties, in point of Conſcience, but by ſetting up new and truly Chriſtian Congregations: Which as I have formerly done at my own houſe, at ſome times, ſeveral years ago, of which mention has been made already; ſo have I frequently expreſſed my earneſt deſire of making up 120 members of ſuch a Congregation, for the *Revival* of that *Primitive Chriſtianity*,

Chriſtianity, which began with that Number, *Acts* i. 15. wherein I would myſelf, while life and health would permit, conſtantly officiate, according to that *Liturgy of the Church of England, reduced to the primitive Standard*, which I publiſhed 35 years ago, and have ever ſince made uſe of upon all ſuch occaſions; and part of which I conſtantly uſe twice a day, either with a Congregation or alone. And may God Almighty bleſs mine and all other good Chriſtian's Endeavours, for the ſetting up ſuch truly primitive Congregations, and may ſuch Congregations, when they are once ſet up, *increaſe more and more unto a perfect Day*, and partake of the largeſt portions of divine Grace here, and of the higheſt degrees of heavenly Glory hereafter! *Amen*, *Amen*.

But then, that I may not be in the leaſt ſuſpected of hypocriſy, in having ſo long, for the main, joined with the aſſemblies of the Church of *England*, I ſhall here honeſtly declare in what particulars I did not, I could not join with them.

(1.) In the *Te Deum*, I choſe to ſay, Thou art the *Only begotten*, inſtead of *Everlaſting Son* of the Father.

(2.) In the common Creed, I ſaid Chriſt deſcended into *Hades*, inſtead of into *Hell*.

(3.) In the Litany, I direct the Prayers to the Father; and entirely omitted the third and fourth Petitions to the *Holy Ghoſt*, and to the *Trinity*.

(4.) In the Prayer for the Parliament, I omitted the Epithets to the King, *Moſt Religious and Gracious*.

(5.) In the Collect, for the ſixth *Sunday* after the *Epiphany*, and elſewhere, I omitted the Words *Holy Ghoſt*, and *One God*.

(6.) I intirely omitted the Collect for *Trinity Sunday*.

(7.) In the *Nicene* Creed I omitted the words, *Light of Light*; *very God of very God*; *begotten not made*; *being of one Subſtance with the Father*. Of the Holy Ghoſt, I ſaid, *proceedeth from the Father by the Son*; who *after* the Father and the Son is worſhipped and glorified.

(8.) In the Communion Service I ſaid, St. *Paul* exhorteth *the Corinthians*. And I entirely omitted the *proper Preface* for *Trinity Sunday*; and wiſhed that *Water* were mixed with the *Wine* in this Office.

(9.) I never joined in the Baptiſm of uncatechiſed Infants, nor in any Baptiſm by ſprinkling; nor in the anſwers of the Church Catechiſm which belong to God-fathers and God-mothers, *&c.*

(10.) In the Form of Burial, I would not uſe the words, *As our Hope is this our Brother or Siſter doth:* When by the Goſpel there is little or no Hopes of Salvation: And finally,

(11.) I heartily wiſhed that all our State Holy-days were aboliſhed.

I now proceed to another remarkable thing that happened to me at *Tunbridge*, while I was A. D. 1746. about my Lectures there, on the models of the Tabernacle of *Moſes*, and of *Solomon*'s, *Zorobabel*'s, *Herod*'s, and *Ezekiel*'s Temples: Which Lectures I had alſo read at the ſame place, as well as at *Briſtol* and *Bath*, twenty years before. Now when I had finiſhed my Lectures, and that, I think, to the ſatisfaction of my pretty numerous audience, I gave them Biſhop *Sherlock*'s moſt excellent ſermon upon the late Rebellion; with a *Memento* almoſt peculiar to that place: Which to prevent miſtakes, and falſe reports, I read out of a Paper. It was as follows:

" To

" To conclude the whole, I muſt ſay, That " tho' I have now been here a fortnight, and have " ſeen ſeveral of this company, both Ladies and " Gentlemen, at Prayers on the Week-Days, " and a great number of them at public Wor- " ſhip on the Lord's-Days, yet have I not myſelf " ſeen any one of them at a Gaming-Table all " this while. And I cannot but wiſh, heartily " wiſh, that no body elſe had ſeen any one of " them at ſuch a place neither. However, I " venture to add this, which I deſire you all to " take ſpecial notice of, that if I be right in my " calculation, as to our Bleſſed Saviour's coming " to reſtore the *Jews*, and begin the *Millenium* 20 " years hence, I cannot but conclude, that after " thoſe 20 years are over, there will be no " more an Infidel in *Chriſtendom*; and there will " be no more a Gaming-Table at *Tunbridge*,"

Sept. 6, 1746. W. W.

But now before the end of *September*, in the ſame year 1746, there came to us at *Lyndon* no contemptible piece, in the modern way of controverſy, from the Quakers; againſt Swearing and Fighting; againſt Tythes; againſt Water-Baptiſm, and the Euchariſt; with a vindication of Women's preaching publicly, which latter piece was written by Mr. *Joſiah Martin*, one already mentioned as the moſt learned of thoſe of that perſuaſion that I had ever known, and once no unuſeful member of our old *Society for promoting Primitive Chriſtianity*. Yet is it moſt evident, from all the original Records of Chriſtianity now extant, which are very numerous, even in the two firſt Centuries; that payment of Tythes for the uſe of the Poor; Baptiſm by trine immerſion into water, and the Euchariſt, with bread, wine, and water, were Apoſtolical Inſtitutions, or to ſpeak

more properly, Inſtitutions of our bleſſed Saviour himſelf by his Apoſtles. And that after the extraordinary gifts in one or two Churches of the firſt Century were over, and the ſettlements by our Saviour took place univerſally, no women were ever allowed to preach or ſpeak in the public aſſemblies of Chriſtians. All which notorious Truths, will not I ſuppoſe be denied by the authors of this pamphlet: To be ſure all thoſe Writers are ſo weak like almoſt all the reſt of the preſent Chriſtians, as to acknowledge no more ſacred books of the New Teſtament than thoſe 27, which the Church of *Rome* have alone given us: Whereas their original number even ſtill preſerved to us, by a moſt happy Providence, is no fewer than 56. As they are all enumerated at the end of my *primitive New Teſtament*, and that 27 known ones there publiſhed from the oldeſt manuſcripts. As to *Swearing* and *Fighting*, *Oaths* and *Wars*, I eſteem ſo few of them to be lawful, that I care not to quarrel with the Quakers about them; tho' I believe the moſt Primitive Chriſtians did not think either of them abſolutely unlawful. As for the Tythes, they were given under Chriſtianity to the inferior Orders of the Clergy, and to the poor, as were the firſt fruits and voluntary oblations to the ſuperior Orders of the Clergy; of all which already: Which diſtribution of the Church's goods under our Saviour's kingdom, which I firmly believe to be now approaching, will I ſuppoſe be ſet right again. Tho' till that can be put in practice, I think theſe Quakers far from being in the right, when they ſcruple paying their Tythes to the preſent Clergy; tho' certainly ſuch Clergy had much better be ſo diligent in their function, peaceable in their behaviour, and friendly to all that differ from them; as thereby to gain thoſe Tythes rather with the good will of thoſe

that

that are to pay them, than to fly preſently to the Law to demand them.

In the year 1741, and 1742, Mr. *John Renſhaw*, my agent, went round the Coaſt of *England*, and ſurveyed it trigonometrically, from the North *Foreland* in *Kent*, to the Land's End in *Cornwall*, and the *Scilly Iſlands*; partly by private benefactions, but principally by public money aſſigned for that purpoſe, by the commiſſioners of the Longitude, but could not then be conveyed to Cape *Clear*, on the South-Weſt of *Ireland*; which could only be determined by the Eclipſes of Jupiter's Planets. This was done accordingly at my expence, by Mr. *Renſhaw*, in *May* 1744. The Chart itſelf, which is large, includes alſo the *French* Coaſt, which Dr. *Halley* had publiſhed before, as determin'd by the *French* Aſtronomers from the like Eclipſes of *Jupiter*'s Planets. But he had not himſelf inſtruments for taking either the Longitude or the Latitude of our own Coaſts: This Chart of ours was publiſhed in 1745. Price 6*s*. I take it to be the exacteſt Chart for Coaſts by far that has ever been made.

The providential delivery of the Vaudois, *from the* French *Forces near* Exilles, *in* Piedmont, *July* 8-19, 1747.

Taken from the authentic account in the London *Gazette extraordinary*, Whitehall, July 22*d*, 1747.

Turin, July 21. N. S.

ON the 19th inſtant, at two in the morning, the Count de Briqueras having had advice that the enemies were approaching the heights of *Aſſiete* (in the road to the *Vaudois*) cauſed his batalions

talions to enter the intrenchments; where they remained till ſeven in the morning: But as they ſuffered very much by the cold, and the enemy made no motion towards the attacking us, they were brought back into the Camp: Some hours after the enemy began to move, which obliged our battalions to return into the intrenchments; which were immediately attacked by the *French*, to the number of 40 battalions, in three columns, with nine pieces of cannon, four pounders, ſupported by a reſerve of 8 other battalions. Our intrenchments were not yet furniſhed with cannon; becauſe it was neceſſary in order to bring it up to cut a way out through the rocks and there had not been time to finiſh it; whereas on the other hand the enemy could bring up theirs without difficulty, by the way which they came. The attack was very briſk, and the *French* advanced by *Sap* quite up to the foot of our intrenchment, to beat it down, returning to the charge four times; but were conſtantly repulſed with loſs. The fire laſted from eleven in the morning, till the evening; when the enemy retreated towards *Setrieres*, purſued by ſome companies of Grenadiers, who charged them ſword in hand upon the deſcent of the mountain.

Of the 14 battalions which we had with us, *viz.* 10 *Piedmonteſe* and 4 *Auſtrian*, there were but eight of the former, and two of the latter, who could by their ſituation have any ſhare in the action. Our loſs amounts in all to 120 men. The enemies loſs amounts to at leaſt 5000 men; amongſt which the Lieutenant-General Chevalier de *Belliefle* was killed; and whoſe death cauſed them to retreat. It is reckoned they have loſt above 300 Officers, they left at *Sceau* 600 wounded, who were not in a condition to be carried off.

There

There is another authentic account in the Gazette that came ſoon afterward, from one in the action, *viz.* Major General Count *Coloredo*, and dated *July* 20th. The 6th of the month I received orders from *Turin* to march forthwith, with the four battalions, towards *Peruſa* (cloſe by, or among the *Vaudois*) and ſet forward accordingly: But before I got thither, I had notice from the Commandant of *Feneſtrelles* (another place cloſe by, or among the *Vaudois*) of the approach of the enemy, and was earneſtly preſs'd by him to advance that very day to that place; which I executed after a very fatiguing march.

The 17th, as the enemy approached more and more, I ordered the two battalions of *Traun* and *Hagenbach* to march quite up to the intrenchments, at the *Col della Sieta*, advancing myſelf with the two other battalions, *viz.* thoſe of *Coloredo* and *Forgatſch*, upon the heights of *Barboti*; from whence I ſaw in the valley oppoſite to me a body of the enemy, from 12 to 15 battalions.

The 18th, we ſtill ſaw the enemies tents, but the greateſt part of their troops was gone, whereupon I quitted that poſt towards the evening, advancing in the night with incredible fatigue, through roads almoſt impaſſable in the mountains, as far as *Valſta*, and reached the *Col della Sieta* before day-break; keeping along the ſide of the intrenchments.

The 19th, the two battalions had hardly incamp'd when the enemy came exactly in the front of the intrenchment, conſiſting according to the accounts of their own officers, now our priſoners, of 44 battalions; whilſt their advanced poſts were ſkirmiſhing with our voluntiers, and even driving them from a hill cloſe by our redoubts, they planted 7 cannons upon the ſame hill, and began to flank our retrenchments with

them, and formed themſelves there in four columns: They began to aſſault us on all ſides, with ſuch vigour, or rather fury, that their firſt column puſhed on quite to the parapet of the redoubt; but it met with ſo warm a reception from the Grenadiers of the *Sardinian* Regiment of Guards, that after a combat of three hours it was almoſt totally ruined.

The ſecond column which attacked the Flank where I was poſted, with the battalions of *Traun*, and *Forgatſch*, had the misfortune to be likewiſe repulſed with a great ſlaughter, after two hours combat.

The third column which poured down from a mountain upon the left flank of the intrenchment was repuls'd five times.

The fourth column appeared very little; and the iſſue of the whole was, towards ſeven in the evening, the enemy rallied their broken and flying troops, retreating to the place from whence they ſet out, and leaving us a compleat victory: Our whole loſs is inconſiderable, whereas that of the enemy exceeds 4000 men killed, and wounded, and priſoners; amongſt the ſlain is the Chevalier de *Belleiſle*, commander in chief, and the Major General *Arnault*; with a great number of other officers.

Amongſt the priſoners, the number of whom amounts to 11 or 1200, is the Brigadier *Borgete*. The enemy left 600 wounded men at *Say*, &c.

N. B. As I look upon this as a providential delivery of theſe *Vaudois*, ſo do I look upon the taking of *Cape Breton* by us in the year 1745, as well as the diſappointment of the *French* the next year 1746, when they attempted *Annapolis*, and other of our plantations in *America*, to be highly providential

dential alſo: And both of them the more remarkably ſo, on account of the unexpected and moſt providential Peace and its conſequences, that have followed thoſe events, and which we now enjoy. Both of them have been in a very excellent manner ſignalized by Mr. *Prince*, in his two Sermons at *Boſton* in *New-England*; the ſerious peruſal of which I do heartily recommend to every Chriſtian.

A Letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

From Sam. Barker's *Eſq*; *at* Lyndon, Rutland, *near* Uppingham, Jan. 23, 1747-8.

My Lord,

AFter my hearty good wiſhes for your eſcaping the dangerous temptations of your high ſtation, and your doing much good to true religion therein, I think it proper to inform you, that in the days of Archbiſhop *Potter* I wrote to his learned Chaplain Dr. *Chapman*, and complained of the poor mean compoſition of the Forms of Prayer for the Days of Faſting during this War: Which as they were plainly beneath thoſe of Mr. *Overal*, my friend, a layman among the Diſſenters, who had then publiſhed others for the like occaſion, ſo did I deſire him to inform me, whether that admirable Collect of Thankſgiving and Prayer on occaſion of the great Storm, *November* 27, 1703, for which I have long ſought in vain, were to be met with at *Lambeth*; and if it were I deſired a copy. To which I had no anſwer. That Form, if it could be found, would be an excellent pattern for future Forms. However, if that cannot be found, I beg that you will provide better Forms for the time to come; and particularly that you will inſert into the next

Form for the Faſt, *February* 17. what has hitherto been utterly neglected, I mean ſome ſerious Collect on occaſion of the long and ſore Murrain or Plague, now deſtroying the Horned Cattle: Which how far it may extend we none of us know. This may not only then be uſed, but afterwards alſo during the continuance of that diſtemper; which has been no way ſtopped hitherto either by natural or political means uſed for that purpoſe. I ſay natural and political means only; for neither do any medical methods of cure conſiderably avail, nor have any other means but political, been tryed by the public hitherto, as if we had no notion of the interpoſition of Providence in ſuch a terrible, and general, and long a Judgment as this has been. I know that my brethren the Baptiſts in this neighbourhood have earneſtly and frequently petitioned God Almighty in their places of public Worſhip, for a ſtoppage of ſo great and uncommon a calamity: And I ſuppoſe other Diſſenters do the ſame in their places of public Worſhip alſo. While our Churches, intended for higher purpoſes, have been only employed to read orders of the State relating thereto. But how it has come to paſs that the eſtabliſhed Church of *England* has been quite ſilent all along, as to the religious part, I believe no good reaſon can be given. If our thirteen times a year *curſing* the *Euſebians* or Primitive Chriſtians by public authority in the *Athanaſian Creed* were once corrected; our Manners in Court and Country throughly amended, and our Prayers on all ſuch occaſions were more ſolemn and ſerious than they now are, we might hope that God Almighty would pity us and our poor dumb creatures, and procure both them a releaſe from this diſtemper, and ourſelves a deliverance from the effects of it, and from thoſe other great and amazing Judgments

ments which I fully and ſuddenly expect; as a conſequence of what is already begun, and this upon the moſt authentic evidence. I am,

My Lord,

Your obliged and very humble Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

N. B. On that Faſt-Day, *Feb.* 17th, I went to our congregation at *Morcot*, which was very ſolemn, and ſupplied by the Prayers of our ſeveral Preachers one after another, with a ſermon on the occaſion by one of them. Where alſo I myſelf read that excellent ſermon about the Murrain, on *Exod.* ix. Part of the 3d and 6th verſes, which I had before read at our Family Morning Devotions that day. And which I told them I wiſhed had been preached in every Church and Meeting in theſe Kingdoms.

The Archbiſhop's ANSWER.

Revd. Sir,

I Thank you moſt kindly for your good Letter, and am better pleaſed with your Chriſtian wiſhes for me, than with a hundred compliments I have received in pick'd and elegant phraſes. Yours, I am ſure, comes from a good heart, and a ſober judgment; I will do the beſt I can in this ſtation, to which indeed I have been forced. And as neither pride, nor ambition, nor covetouſneſs tempted me to deſire it, ſo it is my daily prayer to God, that in the uſe and exerciſe of this great Office, I may keep my heart and my hands free from thoſe ſad temptations. What you hint about

the Form of Prayer, your age and learning, and experience give you a right to ſay; but it becomes thoſe who have leſs of all thoſe to be a little more reſerved: The ſame Form is come out by authority for this year. Many good men concur with you on the ſubject of the Murrain; and I am afraid in a little time it will make the ſtouteſt of us cry out for Mercy, and reach thoſe high places which ſeem almoſt out of the reach of ſuch calamities. Upon your hint I looked over the Forms of Prayer, and find one for the 17th of *Jan.* 1703-4. This I ſuppoſe is what you mean, and I ſend you one of the Prayers tranſcribed.

I am, Reverend Sir,

Your aſſured Friend,

Kenſington, Jan. 28, 1747. THO. CANTUAR.

The PRAYER.

GReat and glorious Lord God, juſt and terrible in thy Judgments, and unſearchable in all thy ways: At whoſe rebuke the earth trembles, and the very foundations of the hills ſhake; who alſo commandeſt the winds and the ſea and they obey. We vile duſt, and miſerable ſinners, in a moſt awful ſenſe of thy amazing Judgments, our own great and manifold provocations, and thy tender mercy to the penitent, do with all humility of ſoul, caſt ourſelves down before thy footſtool; bewailing our unworthineſs, and imploring thy pity, and the bowels of thy compaſſion. We beſeech thee, O Lord, to awaken our conſciences, that we may ſee and duly conſider thy hand, which in ſo aſtoniſhing a manner has

has been lifted up againſt us. Pardon our own crying ſins, and thoſe of the whole nation; which have drawn down this thy heavy diſpleaſure upon us; and grant us ſuch a meaſure of thy grace, that we may no more diſobey thy laws, abuſe thy goodneſs and forbearance; or deſpiſe this and other thy chaſtiſements, leſt a worſe thing come unto. It is of thy goodneſs, O Lord, that we were not all conſumed by the late Winds and Storms, which fulfill'd thy commandment; and that in the midſt of judgment thou didſt remember mercy; ſhewing forth the care of thy Providence in ſo many wonderful preſervations of thy people. Let the Remembrance of them work in us ſuch a thankfulneſs of heart, and ſuch a ſerioufneſs and watchfulneſs of ſpirit, that no calamity may ever be a ſurprize to us, nor death itſelf come upon us unawares. That ſo we may at length arrive ſafely at that bleſſed Kingdom which cannot be ſhaken, for the Sake of *Jeſus Chriſt*, our only Mediator and Advocate.

N. B. On *Aſcenſion-Day*, *May* 19th, 1748. The Collect on account of the Murrain was firſt read at *Lyndon* Church.

A ſhort view of thoſe National and Perſonal Sins which call for Humiliation and Repentance. By Mr. Overal.

WHEN we are called upon by public authority, to humble ourſelves in the ſight of God, on account of our manifold ſins and treſpaſſes againſt him, we ſhould, in order to prepare our minds for that ſolemn work, ſeriouſly reflect upon thoſe national and perſonal tranſgreſſions, which render us unworthy of the

divine favour, and expose us to his just displeasure.

If it should be asked, what sins may properly be called National? I answer all such Laws and Customs of a Nation, as are contrary to the Laws of God, or tend to subvert the foundation of Religion and Virtue, of which kind I am afraid we have too many amongst us: I shall take notice of them, in hopes that they who have it in their power, will either repeal or amend them.

Those Laws which enjoin unnecessary and impracticable Oaths, and require the great and tremendous Name of God to be used upon trifling occasions, are not in my apprehension among the least of our National Sins. It would be endless to run over all the places where this ungodly traffic is carried on, and therefore I shall only mention two of them, one in the Commercial, and the other in the Learned World. That in the Commercial World is our CustomHouses, where a multitude of Oaths are taken, some of them absurd and impracticable, and I think most of them unnecessary; so that they seem to be administred more for the sake of the Fee which is paid for them, than for any thing else. There is likewise so little reverence observed either in the administring or taking those Oaths, that a by-stander, who was a stranger to the affair, would never imagine that the great God of Heaven and Earth was appealed to in that transaction; for which reason, together with the known absurdity of some of them, a Custom-House Oath is become a proverbial expression, for a thing not to be regarded. The pretence for these Oaths is the prevention of frauds, but is it likely that they should answer such an end, when no man is, or indeed can be punished for the breach

of

of them? for it ſeems our wiſe Lawyers have determined, that the breach of an Oath, is not a perjury puniſhable by Law, unleſs ſuch Oath is taken in a Court of Record, which diſtinction I am perſuaded hath been the occaſion of numberleſs Perjuries. Frauds in the Cuſtoms are puniſhable by Law, and would be ſo if no Oaths were taken: But if a fraudulent man is not deterred by ſuch puniſhments, it can hardly be ſuppos'd that he would be deterr'd by any Oath which hath no puniſhment annexed to the breach of it; and therefore as theſe Oaths do not anſwer the end propoſed by them, and as the frauds committed in violation of them, are as puniſhable without them, as with them, they are evidently unneceſſary, and ought to be laid aſide.

The other place where ſwearing abounds, and unneceſſary and impracticable Oaths are adminiſtred, is our *Univerſities*, where every Student, ſoon after his admiſſion, is to take what they call the *Matriculation Oath*, wherein he ſwears to be obedient to the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor; and to obſerve the Laws, Statutes and Cuſtoms of the Univerſity, and this without ſo much as knowing, what thoſe Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms are; and which if ever he does know them, he will find to be ſuch, as neither he, nor any man living can obſerve; and yet this Oath of Obedience to the Statutes, the Student is to take again when he comes to be of the foundation, or Scholar of the houſe; and when he takes his degree of Batchelor of Arts, and Maſter of Arts, and Doctor of Divinity; as if every ſtep to college-preferment was to be aſcended by perjury: A man would perhaps be thought very uncharitable, who ſhould ſay that there is not a man in either of our Univerſities who is not forſworn. And yet harſh as this may ſeem, it is, God knows

knows, too true. To ſay that theſe are only cuſtomary Oaths, doth by no means leſſen the guilt of continuing them. A cuſtom of ſinning is an aggravation, and not an extenuation of the crime: Beſides there ſeems to be leſs occaſion for Oaths in ſchools, or ſeminaries of learning, than in moſt other places, for as ſcholarſhips are not places of Truſt, nor afford opportunity of Fraud, nothing but the unworthy behaviour of the Student can render him obnoxious to puniſhment: And if his conduct is ſuch as to deſerve it, the Society have power to expel him; which power may be as effectually exercised if no Oaths at all were taken or required: And therefore they are evidently unneceſſary and ought to be left off; and the more ſo, as they cannot poſſibly be productive of any good, but may have a very bad effect upon the minds of youth, and lay the foundation of many and great immoralities in the after part of their lives: For it is highly probable that their being educated under a diſregard to what are called cuſtomary Oaths, taken to obſerve impracticable ſtatutes, or elſe their being put to mean quibbles and evaſions to avoid the obligation of them, may ſo debauch their tender reaſon and conſcience, as to occaſion a diſregard to ſolemn Oaths, in affairs of the greateſt importance. Let us therefore lay aſide this ungodly practice of taking the name of God in vain, *for the Lord will not hold him guiltleſs that taketh his name in vain.*

There is another law, and I think a very unjuſt one, which bears hard upon men of Univerſity education; as it lays them under ſtrong temptations to act againſt the Light and Reaſon of their own minds: For after a man has ſpent many years in ſtudy, he cannot be admitted to ſuch degrees in the Univerſity, as his learning and ſtanding

ſtanding may intitle him to: Nor if he is deſigned for a Clergyman, be capable of holding any Living or Church Preferment, unleſs he ſubſcribes and ſolemnly declares his aſſent and conſent to Articles and Creeds of human compoſition, which he neither does nor can believe. It is a melancholy conſideration, that men ſhould ſpend ſo much time in fitting themſelves for a profeſſion, which they cannot be permitted to exerciſe without great prevarication. How can Clergymen expect that their miniſtration ſhould be attended with the Divine Bleſſing, or have any good effect upon the conſciences of other men, when they begin them with ſuch a notorious violation of their own. For God's Sake let us remove this ſtumbling block out of the way, and lay aſide Articles and Creeds drawn up by weak and fallible men, and make the Word of God the only rule of our Faith and Practice, leſt we provoke him to remove our candleſtick out of its place, and to transfer that Light which we have deſpiſed to a people more worthy of it.

Another addition to our load of national guilt, and a very heavy one too, are thoſe Laws which require the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to be taken as a qualification for a civil employment. That ſuch laws ſhould be approved and vindicated by Chriſtian Biſhops and Clergymen, is aſtoniſhing; and yet this is done under pretence of their being a ſecurity to the Church of *England*. But how the proſtitution of a ſolemn ordinance of the Church of Chriſt, to Atheiſts, Infidels and Debauchees, can be a ſecurity to the Church of *England*, I am at a loſs to imagine; unleſs the Church of *England*, and the Church of Chriſt, are ſuppoſed to be different things. But as ſuch a practice cannot inthe nature of the thing have any tendency to ſecure Piety and Virtue, it is

plain

plain that worldly riches and power, or the temporalities of the Church, are the only things intended to be ſecured by it; if ſo, may it not be expected that when a Sacred Rite, appointed by the King and Governor of his Church, as a ſtanding memorial of his love to it, is perverted from its original deſign, and made ſubſervient to worldly ends and purpoſes, that it will be looked upon as a diſhonour done to the inſtitution, and be reſented accordingly? How ſuch of our Biſhops and Clergy, as contend for the continuance of theſe laws, will anſwer it to the great Shepherd, and Biſhop of Souls, at the laſt day, muſt be left to themſelves to conſider: I hope God will put it into the hearts of our King, Lords, and Commons, to take away this reproach from our Church and Nation, that this Sin may no longer be laid to our charge.

Another of our errors eſtabliſhed by law is, the taking away men's lives for robbery or theft; which I think is neither warranted by the laws of God, nor by the reaſon and fitneſs of things.

By the law of God, we are expreſsly forbid to kill; ſo that it muſt be unlawful to take away the life of a man in any caſe, or for any crime, unleſs ſuch crime is particularly excepted out of the command by the ſame authority, as Murder and Adultery, and ſome other crimes are; but robbery or theft is no where excepted out of this law; but, on the contrary, has a particular puniſhment annexed to it by God himſelf: And therefore I am afraid we preſume too far, and intrench too much upon the divine prerogative, when we make laws to puniſh it with death, and act not only without, but againſt the authority of him, who hath ſaid, *Thou ſhalt not kill.*

It may perhaps be thought ſtrange by the Libertines of our Age, that God ſhould annex a greater puniſhment

puniſhment to Adultery than to Robbery; but be it known to them, that in God's account the one is a greater Sin than the other; and indeed it ſeems to be ſo; for there is a poſſibility of making reſtitution and reparation for the damage done by Robbery; but the injury done by Adultery can never be repaired, nor the loſt Innocence reſtored, but this only by the way.

If it ſhould be ſaid in favour of theſe laws, that all Societies muſt have within themſelves a power of making laws, for the ſecurity of property, and of annexing proper puniſhments to the breach of them, otherwiſe there would be nothing but rapine and violence amongſt mankind.

I anſwer, that as God is the ſupreme Lord and Governor of the World, no man, nor body of men can have any power or authority to make laws contrary to his, nor to annex any puniſhments to the breach of them, which he hath expreſly forbid.

If it be alledged, that when men enter into civil Societies, they may for their mutual benefit give up ſome of their natural Rights, and agree to hold their Lives, Liberties and Properties upon certain terms and conditions, and to forfeit them upon the breach of thoſe conditions; which compact or agreement, when voluntarily entered into, ought to oblige the contracting parties; and therefore, as every man in this Nation, hath either in perſon, or by his repreſentatives, given his aſſent to thoſe laws wich puniſh robbery with Death; the inflicting ſuch a puniſhment upon the offenders of theſe laws cannot be unjuſt.

To this it may be replied, that the great Author and Giver of Life is the ſole diſpoſer of it; and therefore, as no man hath a right to diſpoſe either of his own, or of other men's Lives, all compacts

compacts or agreements entered into for that purpose, must of consequence be null and void.

If it be further urged, that every man, who robs, sins with his eyes open, and knows the penalty beforehand; and therefore if he commits the crime, the law is not to be blamed, if he is hanged for it, since it was done knowingly and wilfully.

To which I answer, that the wilfulness of a transgression is not a sufficient reason for an excess of punishment; and therefore if laws ordain punishments for crimes, as greatly exceed the demerit of them, such laws must be blame-worthy; which brings me to the next head, wherein I propose to shew,

That the taking away men's Lives for Robbery is not warranted by the reason and fitness of things. The reason of things, or the law of equity requires, that punishments should be proportioned to the crimes committed: But what proportion is there between the Life of a man, which when once lost, is lost for ever, and a little money, the loss of which may soon be recovered? Or is it fit and reasonable, that for a few temporal goods a miserable Sinner should be for ever deprived of all opportunities of repentance and amendment, and hurried into an eternal World, with all his crimes about him, as it is to be feared is the condition of most of them? O cruel Justice! I heartily wish that the Souls of these poor wretches may not cry to Heaven for vengeance against us. This severity I am persuaded hath been the occasion of a great many Murders, which would not have been committed, if Robbery, had not been made punishable with death, for when men know that they shall be hanged for Robbery, and that they can be but hang'd for Murder, the principle of self-preservation will oftentimes prompt them to commit the one, in order to conceal

conceal the other; this likewiſe renders them deſperate and bloody-minded, when they are under any apprehenſions of being diſcovered and taken.

I ſhall conclude this head with obſerving, that thoſe laws which make no diſtinction in the puniſhment of crimes, ſo vaſtly different, as Robbery and Murder certainly are, cannot be agreeable to the eternal and immutable reaſon of things; and therefore I cannot but wiſh they were altered.

And that the puniſhment annexed to Robbery was only to be ſlavery, and confinement to hard labour for Life, or at leaſt, until * ſome reſtitution was made, and ſome plain ſigns of repentance and amendment appeared; and that perſons convicted of Murder ſhould not be executed by hanging them by the neck; but that their blood ſhould be ſhed by cutting off their heads, as is practiſed in *Holland*; theſe, I think, would be puniſhment more agreeable to the Laws of God, and the reaſon of things; which require no more in caſe of Robbery than ample reſtitution, or perpetual ſlavery; but in caſe of Murder, the Law of God directs, that † who ſo ſheddeth Man's Blood, by Man his Blood ſhould be ſhed; and indeed this method of execution ſeems to be moſt proper in the nature of things, and is moſt likely to have a better effect upon others; for when thoſe Crowds of Spectators, who uſually attend executions, ſee the blood of a Murderer flowing from his veins, it will ſtrike them with more terror, than if they ſaw him only turned off a Ladder, with a cap before his face, to hide the diſtortions of his countenance; and conſequently be more apt to reſtrain them from the like Sin, which is the chief end of all puniſhments. I ſhall only add

* *Exodus* xxii. 3. † *Geneſis* ix. 6.

one

one one obſervation from the celebrated † Sir *Thomas More*; That if under the *Moſaic* diſpenſation, which was rigorous enough, Theft or Robbery was only puniſh'd with fine or ſlavery; it can never be ſuppoſed, that under the Chriſtian Diſpenſation, which is infinitely more merciful and gracious, men ſhould have a greater liberty to deſtroy their Fellow-Creatures.

Another Sin under which this Nation groans, though not encouraged by any Law, is that Luxury and Extravagance in Eating and Drinking, and in Dreſs and Equipage, and all manner of Diverſions, eſpecially that curſed one of Gaming, which ſo generally prevails amongſt us. It is a melancholy Truth, but true it is, that more money is often ſpent by the *Dives*'s of our Age, in one day's luxurious entertainment, than would feed an hundred poor *Lazarus*'s for ſome weeks; and that greater ſums are frequently laid out in cloaths and ornaments for a Bride, or a Birth-Day, than would cloath a thouſand poor Creatures, who are almoſt naked; and more loſt in one night's gaming than would ſupport many families for a whole year. But let thoſe who are richly cloathed, and fare ſumptuouſly every day, remember that temporal riches are talents which muſt be accounted for; and if they are not laid out in Alms-giving and Charity, the ſcene will ſoon be changed, and the time come, when they who have enjoyed this World's Goods, but they have ſhut up their Bowels of Compaſſion from their Brethren in Want, ſhall themſelves beg in vain, and be told, that they in their Life-times were poſſeſs'd of abundance of good

† The practice of putting men to death for Robbery was very juſtly cenſured by Sir *T. More*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. in a Book called *Utopia*, but is nevertheleſs continued among us.

thing;

things, which the Poor were never the better for, but were ſpent in vanity and pleaſure, which they eſteemed as their chiefeſt good; and therefore, as they had already received that portion of happineſs which they chuſe, there now remained nothing for them, but great and endleſs miſery; but for thoſe who had received evil things, and had born them with patience and reſignation to the Divine Will, endleſs Joy, and ever during Felicity. God grant that this conſideration may abate our Luxury and Pride, and increaſe our Charity and Humility.

To the Sins which have been mentioned, may be added a multitude of others, which tho' ſtrictly ſpeaking they are perſonal, yet by reaſon of their general prevalence, may in ſome ſenſe be called *national*.

Such as the general neglect of divine worſhip, in public and in private, and the taking the holy and reverend Name of God in vain, both in common converſation, and by that horrible curſing and ſwearing which is daily heard in every place; the little care and concern in parents and maſters of families to train up their children and ſervants in the principles of Religion and Virtue; and as the natural conſequences of ſuch neglect, the diſobedient, rebellious, and profligate conduct and bevaviour of the riſing generation; the whoredoms and adulteries, which in this brazen age of ours are not only committed but boaſted of; the murders and robberies which are ſo frequent amongſt us; and that ſpirit of detraction and calumny, envy and covetouſneſs, which every where abounds, which are ſad preſages of approaching ruin, and unleſs ſpeedily repented of and amended, muſt draw down the vengeance of Heaven upon us, and make it neceſſary for the righteous Governor of the World to vindicate

the honour of his moral Government, by the deſtruction of a ſinful Nation.

In the year 1748 I publiſhed my Sacred Hiſtory of the *Old and New Teſtament*, from the creation of the world, till the days of *Conſtantine the Great:* reduced into annals.

Containing withal the Fulfilling of Scripture Prophecies all along: A compleat Catalogue of the Eclipſes of the Sun and Moon mentioned by the Antients: Biſhop *Lloyd*'s Origines of the *Jewiſh* Church, from the *Exodus* out of *Egypt*, till the Death of *Moſes*. The Preface to his Expoſition of *Daniel*'s LXX Weeks. Both theſe never before publiſhed: Fragments of the oldeſt Goſpels: Fragments of the *Acts*, *&c.* of *Peter* and *Paul:* An Account of the oldeſt Copies of the *New Teſtament*, eſpecially of *Beza*'s ineſtimable *Greek* and *Latin* Copy of the four Goſpels and *Acts* of the Apoſtles, now in the Library of the Univerſity of *Cambridge:* From which, and from the *Clermont* and *Alexandrian* Manuſcripts, Mr. *Whiſton*'s *Primitive New Teſtament* is now publiſhed in *Engliſh*.

Containing alſo CLV Obſervations, for correcting the modern errors in ſacred chronology: For diſcovering the true chronology of *Peter:* For determining the *Authors*, times and places of the publication of the IV Goſpels, and the other books of the *New Teſtament:* For correction of the miſtakes in our modern copies; and, for ſtating the proper rules of judging about true readings, *&c. Timothy*'s Epiſtle to *Diognetus*, now firſt put into *Engliſh*, and proved to be genuine. A future State frequent in the original copies of the *Old Teſtament:* A Confutation of *Porphyry:* The Martyrdom of *Polycarp:* The Martyrdom of *Perpetua* and *Felicitas*, with notes: The Acts of the Council of *Antioch* in the third century, *&c.*

A

A Propoſal for a new and cheap edition of the primitive Writers, and for fixing them, as lending Libraries, in every pariſh of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and the plantations thereunto belonging: A Table of LXXXI of *Paul*'s Journeys and Voyages, in VII Periods, and XXXV years after his Converſion: Together with other proper Chronological Tables and Indexes are added at the end.

London printed for the Author, and ſold by *John Whiſton* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, and *Francis Biſhop*, in *Little Turn-ſtile Holborn*, 1748. Price to Subſcribers 1 *l.* 6 *s.* but to others a Guinea and half in Sheets.

N. B. When I was at *Newberry* with Mr. *Collet*, in the week after *Whitſun*-week, *A. D.* 1748, I met with very agreeable Company, and heard the worthy Mr. *Mace* preach twice on *Sunday* in the ſame Meeting-houſe, where my old learned Friend Mr. *James Pierce* had preached, before he went to *Exeter*. I there alſo met with a very authentic account of the impoſing and oppreſſive Spirit of the late Mr. *Edward Harley*, and his *Athanaſians* among the Diſſenters: For he ſent down an unſcriptural Formulary of the *Athanaſian* Doctrine into *Cumberland*, to be ſubſcribed by ſuch of the diſſenting preachers as deſired aſſiſtance out of the Diſſenters fund at *London*; the diſpoſal whereof lay much in his power. This was ſubſcribed by four of thoſe preachers, before they were aware, and before they had conſulted their brethren. But when it came to the turn of one of much better conſideration, he put a ſtop to it, and on the contrary drew up a very excellent declaration againſt ſuch impoſitions, and againſt taking away the uſual allowance to preachers on any ſuch accounts; which was fully approved by the reſt of

his brethren, and even by the four who had been betrayed into the former ſubſcription.

On the 19th of *December*, 1717, Dr. *Colbatch* preached his excellent ſermon in commemoration of the founders and benefactors of *Trinity* College, *Cambridge*. Of which Dr. *Smalridge*, then Dean of *Chriſt*'s Church, *Oxford*, ſaid to me, that it was fit to be read over once a Quarter by all Governors of Colleges. In this Sermon, *p.* 30. he ſpeaks thus of my moſt intimate friend Dr. *Laughton*, then a Tutor at *Clare Hall*, who yet was very oppoſite to him in party Notions: "We ſee "what a Confluence of Nobility and Gentry the "Virtue of one Man daily draws to one of our "leaſt Colleges: And is it poſſible that this "ſhould lye hid in an inglorious obſcurity, when "governed according to our Statutes, and con-"ſequently filled with perſons every way fit for "their reſpective ſtations?" Now this Dr. *Colbatch* was my particular Friend, and a perſon of great learning and regard to the ſevereſt diſcipline, and of the ſtricteſt virtue; tho' that virtue ſeemed to have ſomewhat of the *diſagreeable*, as his Friend Dr. *Newton* of *Oxford*'s virtue, ſeems to me to have ſomewhat that is peculiarly *agreeable*. Dr. *Colbatch* and I were hearty friends to Dr. *Bentley*, the Maſter of that College, for ſeveral years, while he appeared to act uprightly; but when he altered that his conduct, we were both of us forced to leave him: Nay the Doctor was at length ſo offended at his conduct, that he was at the head of a party in the College that proſecuted the Maſter in order to his expulſion, tho' to no Purpoſe. In which Proſecution he told me he had expended near 1000 *l.* He was Rector of *Orwell*, five Miles from *Cambridge*, and is lately dead, and has bequeathed his Library to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and ſettled a Charity School

at

at *Orwell* for twenty-five children for all generations. And ſo much I thought fit to add here concerning two of my friends in *Cambridge*, that highly deſerved to be known to poſterity, who otherwiſe, by not affecting to be writers themſelves, might eaſily be forgotten. Nor will it be improper to add, that when I once aſked Dr. *Colbatch*, who had lived ſome time in *Portugal*, as Chaplain to our Factory, or to our Conſul, what it was that in ſuch a groſly ignorant Popiſh Communion could preſerve any ſerious religion? His Anſwer was, that ſome of the Popiſh Confeſſors were ſo honeſt, as to aſſure thoſe that made confeſſion to them, and received abſolution from them, that unleſs they amended their lives, their abſolutions would be of no advantage to them, which was highly for their commendation. Nor by the way did there want a Biſhop in our time, who, as the News told us, perſuaded the *French* Monarch himſelf, when he was in danger of death and was to receive the Extreme-Unction, to diſmiſs a famous Harlot of his upon the like principle; tho' I think that King, upon his recovery, took her again, and ſent the Biſhop away from the Court down to his Dioceſe for his pains; which was but too plain an indication that his repentance was not ſincere in her former diſmiſſion. May all Princes, Popiſh and Proteſtant, with their Courtiers and Nobility, learn this important Leſſon, which will equally hold true of them as of the loweſt of their Subjects and Inferiors. *Marriage is honourable in all, and the Bed undefiled; but Whoremongers and Adulterers God will judge.*

Out of the General Evening-Poſt, *from* Jan. 5th *to* Jan. 7th, 1747-8.

To the PRINTER.

SIR,

HAving juſt ſeen Mr. *Carte*'s Hiſtory of *England*, I found the following remarkable ſtory which he has laborioufly introduced by way of Note, to *illuſtrate* his Hiſtory a thouſand years preceding. Speaking of the Unction of Kings, and the Gift of healing the Scrophulus Humour, called the King's Evil, exerciſed by ſome *European* Princes, anointed at their Coronations, and ſucceeding lineally to their Crowns by Proximity of Blood, he ſays: 'But whatever is to be ſaid in favour of its being appropriated to the eldeſt Deſcendant of the firſt Branch of the royal Line of the Kings of *France*, *England*, *&c.* I have myſelf ſeen a remarkable inſtance of ſuch a Cure, which could not poſſibly be aſcribed to the real Unction.

'One *Chriſtopher Lovel*, born at *Wells*, in *Somerſetſhire*, but when he grew up, reſiding in the city of *Briſtol*, where he got his living by labour, was extremely afflicted for many years with that diſtemper, and ſuch a flow of the ſcrophulous humour, that tho' it found a vent by five running ſores, about his breaſt, neck and arms, there was ſuch a tumour on one ſide of his neck, as left no hollow between his cheek and the upper part of his left ſhoulder, and forced him to keep his head always awry. The young man was reduced, by the virulence of the humour to the loweſt ſtate of weakneſs; appeared a miſerable object in the eyes of all the inhabitants of that populous city; and having for many years tried all the remedies which the art of phyſic could adminiſter,

miniſter, without receiving any benefit, reſolved at laſt to go abroad to be touched. He had an uncle in the place, who was an old Seaman, and carried him from *Briſtol* at the end of *Auguſt* 1746, along with him to *Cork* in *Ireland*; where he put him on board a ſhip that was bound to St. *Martin*'s, in the iſle of *Rhee*. From thence *Chriſtopher* made his way firſt to *Paris*, and then to the place *(Avignon)* where he was touched in the beginning of *November* following, by the eldeſt lineal deſcendant of a race of Kings, who had indeed for a long ſucceſſion of ages cured that diſtemper by the Royal Touch: But this Deſcendant, and next Heir of their Blood, had not, at leaſt at that time, been either crowned or *anointed*. The uſual effect however followed, from the moment that the man was touched and inveſted with the narrow Ribband, to which a ſmall piece of Silver was pendant, according to the rites preſcribed in the office appointed by the church for that ſolemnity, the Humour diſperſed inſenſibly, his Sores healed up, and he recovered Strength daily, till he arrived in perfect Health, in the Beginning of *January* following, at *Briſtol*, having ſpent only four months and ſome few days in his voyage. There it was, and in the week preceding St. *Paul*'s fair, that I ſaw the man in his recovered vigour of body, without any remains of his complaint, but what were to be ſeen in the red ſcars then left upon the five places where the ſharp humour had found a vent; but which were otherwiſe entirely healed, and as ſound as any other part of his body. Dr. *Lane*, an eminent Phyſician in the place, whom I viſited on my arrival, told me of this cure, as the moſt wonderful thing that had ever happened, and preſſed me as well to ſee the man upon whom it was performed, as to talk about his caſe with Mr. *Samuel Pye*, a very ſkilful Surgeon,

and I believe ſtill living in that city, who had tried in vain for three years to cure the man by phyſical remedies. I had an opportunity of doing both, and Mr. *Pye*, after dining together, carrying me to the man, I examined and informed myſelf fully of all particulars, relating as well to his illneſs as his cure, and found upon the whole, that if it is not to be deemed miraculous, it at leaſt deſerved the character given it by Dr. *Lane*, of being one of the moſt wonderful events that had ever happened. There are abundance of inſtances of the cure of the King's Evil by the touch of our *Engliſh* Princes in former times, mentioned by *Tucker*, in his book on that ſubject: And it is obſervable, that the Author, Mr. *Carte*, was himſelf an Infidel on that head, till convinced of his miſtake by the late learned Mr. *Anſtis*, Garter King of Arms, who furniſhed him with thoſe proofs out of the *Engliſh* Records, which atteſt the facts, and are printed in that treatiſe. But I am apt to think there never was an inſtance in which the diſtemper had prevailed to an higher degree, or the ſurprizing cure of it was known to ſuch infinite multitudes of people, as in the cure of *Chriſtopher Lovel.*

Tranſcribed by me WILL. WHISTON *Jan.* 15, 1747-8.

Out of the General Evening-Poſt, *from* Jan. 14th *to* Jan. 16th, 1747-8.

Briſtol, Jan. 13.

To the PRINTER.

SIR,

I Obſerved in your paper of the ſeventh inſtant, a quotation from Mr. *Carte's Hiſtory of England*, of one *Chriſtopher Lovel*, of this city, whom the Author affirms he ſaw after he had been cured of an

an inveterate King's Evil, by the Touch of a certain R——l hand, when the ſkill of the moſt able phyſician and ſurgeon, he had employed before had proved ineffectual, and was indeed ſurprized to ſee ſuch an idle J——te tale calculated to ſupport the old thread-bare notion of the divine hereditary right of a certain houſe; which notion I thought had been long exploded by men of ſenſe, and exiſted no where but in the brains of Popiſh enthuſiaſts, and credulous bigots.

The illuſtrious Royal Family now on the throne deſpiſe ſuch childiſh deluſions, ſuch little pious frauds, to prove their divine right to the crown. They act upon noble principles; they want no chicanry to ſupport their throne; they profeſs an honeſt open plainneſs in all their public actions; the hearts and affections of their ſubjects they depend upon for protecting them on their throne, which they cannot fail of by protecting their ſubjects in the full enjoyment of their civil and religious rights and liberties: Whereas, Jeſuits and Popiſh emiſſaries make uſe of frauds, and pretended miracles, and authority from Heaven, to ſupport arbitrary princes on their thrones, in order to enſlave their innocent credulous ſubjects.

I have made a faithful enquiry into the ſtory of this *Chriſtopher Lovel*, and ſhall endeavour to prove the fallacy of it, by ſetting this wonderful event in an honeſt and fair light.

'Tis acknowledged that the rumour of this remarkable cure made a great noiſe in this city, among the ignorant and diſaffected; great numbers viſited the patient, to be convinced of the truth of this miracle; who greedily ſwallowed the deluſion, as the doctrine of divine hereditary right had been induſtriouſly propagated for ſome years before, to prejudice the minds of the people againſt the ſucceſſion of the preſent Royal Family.

Every

Every Phyſician and Surgeon well know, that high ſcorbutic ulcers will accidentally cicatrice, and dry up, and afterwards break out in other parts of the body from unknown cauſes. But I will account for this cure in a natural way. Phyſicians and Surgeons all agree, that change of air, and diet, with a long courſe of exerciſe are the moſt probable means of removing and curing all chronic diſorders. All theſe *Lovel* muſt neceſſarily have had from St. *Martins* in *France*, to *Avignon*, and back again to *England*. Every day, nay every hour he travelled, he muſt imbibe new columns of air: His food, which before was beef, pork, and ſuch ſort of courſe ſcorbutic diet was thin light ſoups, and vegetables. His drink at home was generally a large draught of ale, and ſpirituous liquors: Whereas aboard it was water, or perhaps ſometimes a little wine. This alteration of diet, with daily exerciſe, muſt doubtleſs have a ſalutary influence upon his diſeaſe.

When he had been touched by the P——r, at *Avignon*, he was immediately put under the care of Phyſicians and Surgeons, who uſed their art upon him, imagining the latter more efficacious than the former. After near five months abſence, he returned to *Briſtol*, and declared himſelf healed by the touch. But alas! his cure laſted but a ſhort time; his ſores broke out in many other parts of his body with violence: So he returned into *France* again, in hopes of the ſame ſucceſs: But the poor wretch never reached *Avignon*, but died miſerably upon the road. This, upon my reputation, is the beſt hiſtory I can gain of this tremendous miracle in Mr. *Carte*, which can be well atteſted if required.

It is granted that this *Lovel* was in appearance cured of the King's Evil; but then this cure was only temporary. That the ſhort interval of health

health was not owing to any R——l Touch, or Charm, or any ſupernatural caſe, but to perfect natural means meerly adventitious.

In the neighbourhood where he lived and worked as a labourer, (to turn the wheel for the pewterers) he had a very ill character in his morals; but of great pretended orthodoxy, and the divine hereditary right of an abjured family.

Can any man with a grain of reaſon, believe that ſuch an idle ſuperſtitious charm, as the touch of a man's hand, can convey a virtue ſufficiently efficacious to heal ſo ſtubborn a chronic diſorder, as an ulcerated inveterate King's Evil?

As I have given you a faithful narrative of this J——te miracle, if you think it worth inſerting in your paper it may be a means of convincing many of your readers of the folly of crediting tales, and viſionary fables, which hiſtorians abound in.

Tranſcribed by me WILL. WHISTON, *Jan.* 18, 1747-8.

AMICUS VERITATIS.

Out of the General Evening-Poſt, *from* Feb. 20th, *to* Feb. 23d, 1747-8.

To the PRINTER.

SIR,

WHEN I publiſhed my Hiſtory, I did not doubt but a ſhoal of anonymous Writers, would be nibbling at ſome particular paſſages in it; and in defect of ſomething more material would attack any ſmall incident even in the notes, though not inſerted in the body of the work.

It

It is the duty of an Hiſtorian to give an account of every inſtitution when it comes to take place in a kingdom; and I have diſcharged that duty ſo far as I have gone (I would fain hope) to the ſatisfaction of the Reader. This obliged me to make a ſhort *Diſcourſe* on the *Unction* of Kings, and to take notice of the extravagant effects aſcribed to that *Unction*. The Sanative Virtue of touching for the King's Evil, being one of thoſe effects, the relation of *Chriſtopher Lovel* was inſerted in a note, to ſhew it was erroneouſly aſcribed to the *Unction*. It was put there with no other view, than to refute that notion; and without any deſign of publiſhing it: But the *Note* (perhaps for want of a mark, directing it ſhould not be copied, as I uſed in ſome other caſes) being tranſcribed together with the Diſcourſe, for the Preſs, I did not, when the proof ſheet was ſent me, ſtrike it out; obſerving nothing in it that could reaſonably give offence, were it not for the comments of malevolent people; for the perſon touching is not named, and what is ſaid of him agrees to more than one perſon.

I have not in that diſcourſe delivered my own opinion on the ſubject; contenting myſelf with relating thoſe mentioned by *W.* of *Malmſbury*. Several curious and knowing perſons have wrote upon it, particularly Dr. *Tooker*, a Divine, and Mr. *John Brown*, Surgeon to King *Charles* the IId. The Book of the former being publiſhed *A. D.* 1597, under the title of *Chariſma*, that of the latter *A. D.* 1684, under the title of *Chariſma Baſilicon*. I have not ſeen *Tucker*, or *Tooker*'s book theſe thirty years, ſo long it is ſince the relation I quoted thence was copied. I have tranſcribed others very remarkable (particularly the cure of a *German*, who had been thirteen months his patient, by the Royal Touch) from *Clows*,

Clows, an experienced Surgeon, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, who publiſhed *A. D.* 1602, a treatiſe of the *Artificial Cure* of that diſtemper; though he owns throughout it, that the Queen's Touch was the only infallible remedy. But though I have not theſe books by me, nor a thouſand others from which I have extracted paſſages, I think I may fairly make uſe of my own tranſcripts. The late learned Mr. *Anſtis*, in the twenty-ſixth page of a MS. diſcourſe on *Coronations*, which he left at his death unfiniſhed, hath theſe words:

"The Miraculous Gift in curing this diſtemper, [the King's Evil] by the Royal Touch of our Kings, as well as of the *French* King, is undeniable;" and in p. 49 taking notice of his having convinced a Surgeon of the antiquity of our Kings touching by ſeveral citations, he adds that he [the Surgeon] publiſhed theſe citations; and therefore I refer you [*i. e.* his ſon, the preſent garter, to whom the diſcourſe is addreſs'd] to that pamphlet. I paſſed ſome days with him, at *Mortlake*, about twenty-ſix years ago, when a pamphlet wrote by a Surgeon about the King's Evil, was advertis'd in the News-Paper, and had a good deal of diſcourſe with him on the ſubject; and by what was then ſaid, I am perſuaded that Mr. *Becket*'s *enquiry into the antiquity and efficacy of touching for the King*'s *Evil*, printed in 8*vo*. *A. D.* 1722 (according to the Bookſeller's Stile, who begin their year even before *Chriſtmas*) was the pamphlet in queſtion. But I never ſaw it, and had intirely forgot the name of the Surgeon: When having Mr. *Anſtis*'s Diſcourſe abovementioned before me, and conſulting a learned gentleman (who had ſtudied phyſic above forty years, and tranſcribed my note for the Preſs) about the name of the Surgeon referred to by Mr. *Anſtis*; it was either by his opinion or my own inadvertance

that

that I put down *Tucker* for the name of that Surgeon. I have endeavoured to find out this pamphlet, but in vain. The preſent Mr. *Anſtis* hath neither that or any other treatiſe on the ſubject in his library. Whoever hath it may obſerve by the records cited in it, (eſpecially if the *Account of the Houſhold* in the 6th of *Edward* I. which there is ſcarce a man in *England* beſides the late Mr. *Anſtis* hath ever look'd into, be cited for the cure of 182 perſons of the King's Evil by that Prince) whether the author be the Surgeon to whoſe book he refers. After all, whether the Surgeon's name be *Tucker*, or *Becket*, or any other is a matter of very little conſequence.

Deans Yard, Feb. 13, 1748.

Yours, THO. CARTE.

Tranſcribed by me *Will. Whiſton, Feb.* 24, 1747-8.

N. B. What remarkable facts we have well atteſted of the cure of the King's Evil by the touch of one or two old families in *Europe*, and is ſuppoſed to be a kind of miraculous operation, done by thoſe and only thoſe families, of which already, ſeems to me to be a great miſtake, and to be rather a remains of the old healing of the Sick by the anointing them with the Holy Oil, or in the want of ſuch Oil, by the prayers and impoſition of the hands of Preſbyters, in St. *Mark*. St. *James*, and the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, of which in part already. For though the Kings or Queens ſtroke the part affected, which is called the Impoſition of Hands, and ought probably to be done by Preſbyters, and charitably beſtow the gold and ſilver pieces, and put them about the necks of the patients, while they are on their knees

knees in the poſture of Prayer; yet are the Prayers themſelves, and the Benediction, pronounced only by the Chaplains in waiting, who are always Preſbyters. See the Form of *Healing* in the Common Prayer Books, printed in the reign of Queen *Anne*, who uſed to touch for the Evil; though I think that neither King *William*, nor Queen *Mary*, nor King *George* the Firſt or Second have ever done it; while yet I ſuppoſe they might have done it with the like ſucceſs as our former Kings, and even Queen *Elizabeth* herſelf had done it before. Mr. *Carte*, in the firſt volume of his hiſtory, lately publiſhed, book IV. p. 291, has given us ſo extraordinary an hiſtory of the healing of one *Chriſtopher Lovel*, of *Briſtol*, in the year 1716, juſt now ſet down; as did Mr. *Bates*, the King's famous Surgeon in my hearing, do the like in another inſtance many years ago, that I cannot but think this matter deſerves a more ſerious and exact conſideration and examination than it has of late met with, while it ought always to be impartially taken notice of, in what caſes and circumſtances, and how far this Touch has been effectual, and when, as well as how far it has failed. For that it has by God's Bleſſing frequently healed the patients, at leaſt in part, and for ſome time, is I believe abſolutely undeniable; nor is it, I preſume, pretended that it has never failed of its effect. But of this Royal Touch, ſee Dr. *Tucker*'s book on that ſubject, and Mr. *Fuller's* Church Hiſtory, pretty largely, under *Edward the Confeſſor*, *Cent.* VI. p. 145—148.

As to any plea for the Title of Royal Families, from the ſucceſs of this Touch, I know nothing of it: Nor can I find in the Sacred Writings, any other divine right they have, but the choice and recognition of the people. Nor by conſe-

conſequence can I find any other rightful and lawful King of *Great-Britain*, than our preſent King *George* II. See my *Scripture Politicks* throughout.

The Form of the Healing in Queen Anne's *Time.*

PRevent us, O Lord, in all our doings with thy moſt gracious Favour, and further us with thy continual Help; that in all our Works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy holy Name, and finally by thy Mercy obtain everlaſting Life, through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord. *Amen.*

The Holy Goſpel is written in the 16th Chapter of St. Mark, *beginning at the 14th Verſe.*

Jeſus appeared to the Eleven, as they ſat at meat, and upbraided them of their Unbelief and Hardneſs of Heart, becauſe they believed not them which had ſeen him after he was riſen. And he ſaid unto them, Go ye into all the World, and preach the Goſpel to every Creature: He that believeth and is baptized ſhall be ſaved; but he that believeth not ſhall be damn'd. And theſe ſigns ſhall follow them that believe: In my name they ſhall caſt out Devils; they ſhall ſpeak with new Tongues, they ſhall take up Serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it ſhall not hurt them: *They ſhall lay their hands on the Sick, and they ſhall recover:* So then after the Lord had ſpoken unto them, he was received up into Heaven, and ſat on the Right-hand of God: And they went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with ſigns following.

Let

Let us pray.

Lord have Mercy upon us.

Chriſt have Mercy upon us.

Lord have Mercy upon us.

Our Father, *&c.* with the Doxology, and *Amen.*

Then ſhall the infirm perſons, one by one, be preſented to the Queen, upon their knees; and as every one is preſented, and when the Queen is laying her hands upon them, and putting the gold about their necks, the Chaplain that officiates, turning himſelf to her Majeſty, ſhall ſay theſe words following.

God give a bleſſing to this work; and grant that *theſe* ſick *perſons*, on whom the Queen *lays* her hands, may recover, through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord.

After all have been preſented, the Chaplain ſhall ſay,

Verſ. O Lord ſave thy ſervants,

Reſp. *Who put their truſt in thee:*

Verſ. Send them help from thy Holy Place,

Reſp. *And evermore mightily defend them:*

Verſ. Help us, O God of our Salvation,

Reſp. *And for the glory of thy Name deliver us; and be merciful to us ſinners, for thy Name's Sake:*

Verſ. O Lord hear our Prayers;

Reſp. *And let our cry come unto thee.*

Theſe anſwers are to be made by them that come to be healed.

Let us Pray.

O Almighty God, who art the giver of all health, and the aid of them that ſeek to thee for ſuccour,

we call upon thee for thy help and goodneſs, mercifully to be ſhewed upon theſe thy ſervants; that they being healed of their infirmities, may give thanks unto thee in thy Holy Church, through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, *Amen.*

Then the Chaplain, ſtanding with his face towards them that come to be healed, ſhall ſay.

The Almighty Lord, who is a ſtrong tower to all them that put their truſt in him, to whom all things in Heaven, in Earth, and under the Earth do bow and obey; be now and evermore your defence, and make you know and feel, that there is none other name under Heaven given to man, in whom, and through whom, you may receive Health and Salvation, but only the name of our Lord, *Jeſus Chriſt*, *Amen.*

The Grace of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*; and the Love of God; and the Fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt, be with us all evermore, *Amen.*

N. B. It appears by Mr. *Fuller*, that the Goſpel in his days was the firſt nine verſes of St. *John*'s Goſpel; and that the King or Queen made the ſign of the Croſs upon the ſore, in the impoſition of hands.

Lyndon, Jan. 20, 1747.

WILL. WHISTON.

Calviſius from *Vaſæus*, at *A. D.* 672, and 680, ſpeaks of *Bamba*, a very religious *Gothick* King in *Spain*, 'that when *Ervigius* had infuſed 'poiſon into his food which quite took away his 'memory, and brought him into ſuch a diſtem-'per, that he ſeemed to be giving up the Ghoſt,

'the

' the Biſhop offered him the ſacrament of ex-
' treme unction. But when he was recovered,
' and made acquainted with the offer he had
' had of the ſacrament, he utterly renoun-
' ced his kingdom, and the world, and re-
' tired into a monaſtrey.'

Mr. *Grantham*, in his *Chriſtianiſmus Primitivus*, page 38, 39, upon *James* v. 14. ſays, ' The gift
' of healing is not wholly taken away: If we
' dare believe our eyes, or the perſons who have
' been reſtored to health very ſuddenly, at the
' earneſt prayer of faithful men, and oftentimes
' in the uſe of that ordinance, *James* v. 14——18.
' The truth is, that miracles are rarely found;
' yet from what my eyes have ſeen, and from
' what I have heard by report, from ſome
' whom Charity will not ſuffer me to think,
' would affirm an untruth, I may not ſay (as
' ſome) that they are not at all to be found, *&c.*'

I ſhall add one very remarkable paſſage, in Mr. *Fuller*'s Church Hiſtory, page 146. " Nor
" will it be amiſs here to relate a paſſage, which
" happened about the midſt of the reign of
" Queen *Elizabeth*, after Pope *Pius* did let fly
" his excommunication againſt her. There was
" a ſtiff *Roman Catholic*, (as they delight to
" term themſelves) otherwiſe a man well ac-
" compliſhed, and of an ingenuous diſpoſition,
" who being caſt into priſon (I conceive for his
" religion) was there viſited in a high degree
" with the King's Evil; and having, with great
" pain and expence, but no ſucceſs, long uſed
" the advice of phyſicians, at laſt he humbly ad-
" dreſs'd himſelf to the Queen's Majeſty; by
" whom, with God's help he was compleatly
" cured. And being demanded what news? I
" perceive, ſaid he, now at laſt by plain expe-
" rience, that the excommunication denounced

" by the Pope, againſt her Majeſty, is in very " deed of none effect; ſeeing God hath bleſſed " her with ſo great and miraculous a virtue. For " which relation Mr. *Fuller* quotes *Tucker*, in " *Chariſmate*, cap. 6, page 92."

WILL. WHISTON.

Now when I diſcourſed with that eminent Baptiſt Mr. *Grantham Killingworth*, about this matter, he was thoroughly ſatisfied of the ſucceſs of this holy unction, and told me, that ſome of thoſe cures were ſo remarkable, that a memorial of them was put on a graveſtone of a Baptiſt that had cured ſeveral by the ſame unction.

I alſo *William Whiſton* have enquired of our own Elder or Preſbyter, Mr. *Matthew Stanger*, whoſe elder brother, Mr. *William Stanger*, was that Baptiſt Biſhop, or meſſenger, that anointed a a ſick woman at *Iſham*, near *Kettering*, when he was preſent and joined in the prayers; though without faith in the operation himſelf, which woman recovered. The ſame Mr. *Matthew Stanger* aſſures me, that his mother, when ſhe was alive, uſed to tell him, that this anointing was more frequent among the Baptiſts formerly than it has been of late. I have alſo been informed, by Mr. *Copper*, an acquaintance of Mr. *Killingworth*'s, and the preſent Baptiſt Biſhop, or meſſenger, at *Tunbridge-Wells*, that he had been himſelf with other Baptiſt Biſhops, or meſſengers concern'd in the anointing one under an *ill tongue*, as he called it; which I ſuppoſe to be the ſame diſtemper, with what the Apoſtles would have called *Dæmoniacal Madneſs:* While after a firſt and ſecond failure it was found a ſort of magic ceremonies or conjurations had been uſed by ſome people for the cure. But when thoſe wicked methods had

had been detected, and laid aſide, the cure was perfected. Our Biſhop or Meſſenger Mr. *Goode*, alſo writes to me thus.

Rev. SIR,

ACcording to your requeſt I made ſome farther inquiry into the circumſtance you aſked me of, relating to the inſtitution of anointing with Oil, according to St. *James*, chap. v. ver. 14, 15, 16, though time has eras'd ſome things out of the minds of thoſe who were either eye or ear witneſſes, yet that which they remember, very much agrees with that which I formerly received from ſeveral perſons of great credit. According to the accounts I have received, Mr. *Thomas Lovel*, a Preſbyter of the Baptiſt Church of *Weſton*, in the pariſh of *Weedon* in the county of *Northampton*, ſome time about the year 1720, was very ill of a pleuretic fever, and had the late Mr. *Hodges*, apothecary in *Toceſter* to adminiſter phyſic to him; he declared that, if his illneſs returned, he could not live to ſurvive it; and immediately went to bed in the next room to that were Mr. *Lovel* lay. There was at the ſame time in the houſe Mr. *John Britain*, a Preſbyter of the Baptiſt Church at *Stony Stratford*, in *Buckinghamſhire*, who came to viſit him. Mr. *Lovel*'s illneſs returned in the night, with a violent pain in one of his ſides, and perceiving the approaches of death to draw near, exerciſed faith in his inſtitution, and deſired Mr. *Britain* to be called up, who was in bed in another room, to adminiſter it to him. He aroſe, and after aſking him ſome queſtions relating to his faith, and other qualifications, adminiſtered it: And immediately his great pain abated, and he was quickly reſtored to health. I have been alſo informed, that Mr.

Hodges who heard the ſervice performed, declared in the morning, that if God had not heard theſe Prayers, he muſt inevitably have died immediately; and that he could raiſe a man up by ſuch religious means, when all the arts of men failed.

Secondly, Mrs. *Boddington* of *Aſher*, in *Warwickſhire*, was under a long and great illneſs ſome time, about thirty years ago. She was a member of the general Baptiſt Church, profeſſing the Baptiſm of the Adult by immerſion, meeting in *Weſt-Orchard* in *Coventry*, and ſent for Mr. *John Eld*, who was then a Preſbyter in the ſame Church, (but afterwards ordained a Biſhop.) He went to viſit her: She deſired to have the anointing with Oil adminiſtered to her, in the name of the Lord. Which he, after being ſatisfied that ſhe had competent qualifications, adminiſtered; and it was attended with ſo good effects, that ſhe, who before was not able to help herſelf in ſcarce any degree, raiſed herſelf up in a few minutes, and in a few hours dreſſed herſelf, walked about the room, and went into the other parts of the houſe, to the admiration of all her family and acquaintance.

Thirdly, Circumſtance was relating to *Stephen Matthews* of *Killingworth*, who was a member of the ſame Church in *Weſt-Orchard*; he was under great affliction about the time above mentioned, which ſeized his body, and lay very heavy upon him, for ſix or ſeven years; until he, for a conſiderable time, became like a ſkeleton, and could not get out of bed. He ſent for Mr. *Eld*, and for Mr. *Samuel Welton*, who was a Preſbyter in the ſame congregation, and after he, in their apprehenſions, declared a true repentance for all his paſt ſins, and a great deſire of living up to the rectitude of the Goſpel, deſired to be anointed with Oil, according to St. *James*, chap. v. *&c.*

Rev. SIR,

ACcording to your requeſt I ſhall give you this following account. The Rev. Mr. *Drinkwater*, meſſenger and miniſter of the baptiſt church at *Chicheſter*, in the county of *Suſſex*, gave me this following account. A woman that was a member of his congregation had a daughter that was troubled with fits, to that degree, that they confined her to her bed, and had ſeveral in one day, and rendered her incapable of any buſineſs. The ſaid mother deſired Mr. *Drinkwater* to come to her daughter, in order to anoint her with oil, in the Name of the Lord, which he did. And after the anointing, while they were in prayer for her, theſe words came into his mind, *In the Name of the Lord, ariſe and walk*; but fearing it would be too great preſumption, he omitted it in the prayer, but continued in the duty till it returned a ſecond and third time; then he took her by the hand and ſaid, *In the Name of the Lord Jeſus, ariſe and walk:* And ſhe came out of the bed immediately and was well; as Mr. *Drinkwater* told me.

There was a miniſter and elder of his congregation that was not ſatisfied in the practice of anointing with oil, and could not have faith in it, unleſs he could ſee a miracle wrought by it. He lived in or near *Chicheſter*, and had never been at *London*. He had two brothers that lived at *Iſlington*; one a houſekeeper, the other a lodger; and once in the night he dreamed, that there was a near and dear friend of his that lived near *London*, then under a diſtemper that threatened death: It was a fever, and the doctor had given him over. But that the ſaid friend was deſirous of ſome ſweetmeats, and that would make him well: but the ſaid ſweetmeats could not be had, but in the *Borough*

rough [of *Southwark*], and before they could be procured, he would be dead. This was the ſubject of his dream. When he awaked it left a great impreſſion upon his mind: But before he got up, a meſſenger came from *Iſlington*, with this news, that his brother was near death, and given over by the doctors; deſiring him to go to him with all ſpeed. When he came thither, his brother was thought to be near death, and he and his other brother walked in his garden, conſulting about the manner of his burial: But when they came in, he was ſenſible, and was greatly deſirous to be anointed; but none could be found that did practiſe the ſame, but Mr. *Richardſon*, a meſſenger of the baptiſts, that lived in the *Borough*, and he could not be had at that time. Then the friends of the ſick man deſired the ſaid miniſter to anoint him; and in the extremity of the caſe he did; and whilſt he was praying for him, he came out of the bed immediately, and was well. Now this ſick man was under the cenſure of the church for ſome diſorder of life, for which he declared his repentance.

Mr. *Benjamin Miller*, meſſenger and elder of a baptiſt's congregation at *Downton*, near *Sarum*, in *Wiltſhire*, told me, that as he came once to *Briſtol* on *Saturday* night, there was one Mrs. *Stagg* of *Bedminſter*, one mile from *Briſtol*, that was on a bed of weakneſs, near unto death: She ſent for the ſaid Mr. *Miller*, in order to anoint her with oil, in the Name of the Lord, the next morning: He went; but when he came ſhe was almoſt ſpeechleſs, and it was thought ſhe was dying, but ſenſible, and by ſigns ſhewed her deſire of being anointed; which he did, and in a few minutes ſhe ſpake, and ſaid ſhe was better. Soon after ſhe added, ſhe would get up; and ſending Mr. *Miller* out of the chamber, ſhe got up and went to *Briſtol* that day in the afternoon, and received the ſacrament

ment that day. Then ſhe invited her friends to come and dine with her the next day. But when they came ſhe was ſtrip'd of her gown, and was cook and dreſſed the dinner.

In the year 1740, Mr. *Samuel Fly*, elder of the baptiſt church at *Horſley-down*, *London*, was under a rheumatic diſorder in its extremity; whom I went to ſee in his illneſs. He ſaid to the doctor, and his friends, that he was willing to be anointed in the Name of the Lord. But the doctor not knowing the nature of it, thought he was delirious; and Mrs. *Killingworth* brought a bottle of ſomething in, that ſhe thought would do him good, but his Stomach was ſo weak that he could not take it. Then ſhe cried, ſaying, If he did well ſhe would ſay, that miracles were not ceaſed. On the Lord's day following Mr. *Smith* and Mr. *Cornthwait* preached for him; and that day anointed him with oil, in the name of the Lord. And the next day he could walk about his chamber with eaſe, and ſoon went abroad, whom I ſaw ſoon after his Recovery.

Witneſs my Hand,

WILLIAM BOND.

The aforeſaid Mrs. *Stagg* was anointed once before at *Taunton*, for a quinſey in her throat, and was cured.

A Copy of a Letter from a Gentleman in Scotland, *dated* February 29, 1747-8. *Out of the* Gentleman's Magazine *for* March 1748. pag. 136.

WE have had ſome extraordinary events in our neighbourhood, which can't as yet be accounted for. On *January* 25, the river *Teviot*, for two miles before it joins the *Tweed*, ſtopped its current, and its channel became dry, leaving

fiſhes,

fiſhes, *&c.* on dry ground, many of which were taken up by the country people, and ſold at *Longtown*, and other places. It continued in this condition for the ſpace of nine hours; and when it began to reſume its courſe, it began gradually, till it ran as uſual again; but in no greater quantity from its ſtopping, as might be expected. How to account for this phænomenon we know not; for there are no mines of any ſort, or any other cavity in the whole country. And if the waters had been ſtop'd by any riſing of that part of the ground by an earthquake, they would have been heaping up in ſuch quantities in a minute's time, that upon the ground's deſcending, the whole country muſt have been overflow'd.——On *February* 19, the river *Kirtle* was dry for ſix hours, leaving fiſhes, *&c.* at the bottom. This alarmed the whole country; inſomuch that Sir *William Maxwell*, who lives within 500 yards of it, and many rode with him along the banks of the river, and ſaw it dry for ſeven miles, but could not find out the cauſe of the water's ſtopping. And on *February* 23 the river *Eſk* itſelf ſtopped its courſe, and the channel was quite dry (except ſome deep holes where the water could not get out) for the ſpace of ſix hours, to the admiration of the whole country, the more ſo becauſe this large river is as rapid as moſt in *England*. See a ſolution of theſe wonders in the ſame Magazine for *April*, 1748, pag. 142. But ſee rather 4 *Eſd.* vi. 24. *The veins of the foundations ſhall ſtand ſtill, and ſhall not run for the ſpace of three hours.*

As to the famous woman who brought forth monſters in *Surrey*, above 20 years ago, if the fact was real: And as to the ſtrange gigantic boy at *Willingham*, near *Cambridge*, much later, hiſtory is undoubtedly real, in *Tranſact. Philoſ.* No. 475.

See

See 4 *Eſd.* v. 8. *Monſtrous women ſhall bring forth monſters*, or in the *Arabic* copy, *There ſhall be ſigns in the women.* See alſo vi. 21.

I conclude with this additional reflection, that as it was the horrible *Athanaſian Creed* that directly brought me to the Baptiſts, ſo ſhould I think it one good ſtep towards the Church of *England*'s admiſſion of Primitive Chriſtianity, if her Archbiſhops and Biſhops would but leave off the uſe of that Creed in their own Chapels; and thereby recommend its omiſſion to all their ſubordinate Clergy.

Lyndon, November 15, 1747.

WILL. WHISTON.

The Copy of a Letter that came to me on Sunday, Auguſt 24th, 1746, *being St.* Bartholomew's-*Day, at* Tunbridge-Wells.

Revd. S I R,

THO' I am an entire ſtranger to you, yet I flatter myſelf the importance of the ſubject will excuſe the liberty I have taken in addreſſing you in this manner. The reaſon of which, without preface is as follows.

'Tis now about eight years ſince I accidentally happen'd to meet with your *Hiſtorical Preface.* I muſt own, at my firſt peruſing it, I was vaſtly ſurprized to find propoſitions ſo contrary to thoſe generally held as orthodox. I had been brought up in the Church of *England*, and attended divine Service (as I believe many others do) without ſo much as once examining the truth or falſhood of thoſe principles I had been educated in. But the reading your book ſoon gave me a happier

pier way of thinking, and put me upon a more ſtrict enquiry. I afterwards procured your *Primitive Chriſtianity:* A work for which the whole Proteſtant Church, in my opinion, is under the greateſt obligation to you: It being collected with that care and fidelity, that to an ingenuous mind, it muſt certainly appear convincing and unanſwerable, as to the doctrine therein contained. But to return, I then peruſed Dr. *Clarke*'s *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, and Mr. *Emlyn*'s *Tracts*; two excellent writers in the ſame glorious cauſe; and both recommended by you in your other writings. In ſhort, I was fully convinced of this grand fundamental truth, that the *Father alone*, excluſive of all other Beings and perſons whatſoever, was *the moſt high God.* Or in other words, the *only God* of the Chriſtian Religion. A doctrine evidently taught by our bleſſed Saviour and his Apoſtles. Thus far all was right, 'till reading the authors who wrote on the other ſide of the queſtion, I was ſomewhat perplex'd; not on account of thoſe opinions I had embraced, but in regard of the legality of continuing a member of the Church: From which I find the pretended orthodox were for excluding the poor *Arians.* Among many others, I ſhall juſt mention one or two, which ſeem applicable to the preſent purpoſe. The author of a pamphlet called *ſeveral hundred texts to prove our Saviour to be the moſt high God*; (a character I am ſure he never laid the leaſt claim to, but always attributed it to his father:) This author, I ſay, has theſe words, " If any deny the eternal deity of our Sa-
" viour, they exclude themſelves from all Chri-
" ſtian aſſemblies, *&c.* It muſt be groſs hypocri-
" ſy and prevarication in ſuch to be preſent, ſo
" much as occaſionally, at the liturgy of the Church
" of *England*; where all the offices either ſup-
" poſe the divinity of our Saviour, or plainly de-
" clare

" clare it." Another writer, in an *Addreſs to the conforming Arians*, both among the Clergy and Laity, " accuſes them of the vileſt hypocriſy, in " being preſent at Prayers and Creeds which they " profeſs not to believe: And abſolutely inſiſting " on it, as their indiſpenſible duty, to ſeparate from " the Church. And affirms that a Proteſtant " might as well conform with the Papiſts, or a " Chriſtian with a Mahometan, as an Unitarian " with the Orthodox. And by no means admits " that ſalvo, *viz.* Their not repeating thoſe pray- " ers or paſſages in the liturgy which, in their " opinion, are blaſphemous, and derogatory to " the ſupreme unequall'd majeſty of God the Fa- " ther." Now as hypocriſy is undoubtedly a ſin odious to God and man, I, with many others ſhould take it as a ſingular favour, if in ſome of your future writings, you would diſcuſs this important queſtion, *viz.* With what Church or Sect the *Arians* in this preſent corrupted ſtate of things ought to communicate, till it pleaſes God more compleatly to reform the Chriſtian world? Whether with that eſtabliſhed, or whether he ought to ſeparate, and go over to the Diſſenters? As many *Arian* miniſters are ſuppoſed to be amongſt them. Now had the *Unitarians* the liberty of public aſſemblies, and a miniſtry of their own, the point would eaſily then be determined. To ſpeak the truth, I think their caſe a little hard; for while all ſects and opinions are tolerated, even idolatrous Papiſts, and infidel *Jews*, they alone are denied this happy privilege, which ſo many good men wiſh for. Before I conclude, I beg leave to mention a paſſage I lately met with, in a modern writer, relative to the matter in hand. The ingenious author obſerves, " That in points " ſpeculative, a man ought not to be too rigid. " Nothing he ſays, is more common now-a-days,

" than

" than to ſee thoſe who ſtrictly believe the divine " unity, communicating with thoſe who firmly " aſſert the truth of the *Athanaſian* principles. " The difference of opinion hindering not, that " both might with equal piety receive the memo- " rials of their Saviour's death." However, as ſoon as you have an opportunity, the ſettling of this point would conſer the greateſt obligation on

Revd. SIR,

Your very humble Servant,

Though unknown.

P. S. It would I fear be but at beſt impertinent to adviſe you how or in what manner to diſcuſs this matter: Whether in one of the *Magazines*, or in a diſtinct *Treatiſe*, which I fear will never anſwer. I cannot however help thinking, you have a fair opportunity in your Connection of Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory, now publiſhing. I find you intend in that uſeful work to intermix ſeveral diſſertations. Amongſt which, when you come to treat of the times of *Conſtantine the Great*, I fancy that now-deſired might aptly and happily be placed.

ALthough I have before, in the *Memoirs of my Life*, pleaded ſome excuſes for myſelf, while I have ſo long communicated with the Church of *England*, even in the Euchariſt itſelf, notwithſtanding my open diſſent from ſeveral parts of her worſhip, nay my open diſclaiming to join in any thing wherein my conſcience would not permit it, as is aboveſaid; nay altho' I have ſince the receipt of the foregoing remarkable

ble letter at *Tunbridge Wells* (which I own to have greatly affected me) once ventured to receive that holy communion from Mr. *Harriſon*, at St. *George*'s Church, *Queen*'s *Square*, *London*; though I went out of the Church during his reading the *Athanaſian* Creed at the ſame time: And had indeed, I believe, ventur'd to receive the ſame of Mr. *Belgrave* on *Chriſtmas-day* laſt here at *Lyndon*, after the like abſenting myſelf during his reading of the ſame Creed, had I then been well enough to go to Church on that day, as I was not; yet, upon mature deliberation ſince that time, I do not think I ſhall eaſily ſatisfy myſelf to do ſo any more. I mean if he that officiates is a reader of the horrible *Athanaſian* Creed, and by conſequence frequently and ſolemnly pronounces me, and the reſt of the *Euſebians*, or primitive Chriſtians, *accurſed*. For this curſe extends to every one of us who does not keep the groſſeſt part of the *Athanaſian* hereſy "whole and undefiled, that without doubt we "ſhall periſh everlaſtingly: That he who will be "ſaved muſt think as do the *Athanaſians*, of the "Trinity: That it is neceſſary to everlaſting "ſalvation that we alſo believe, as do the *Atha-*"*naſians* of the Incarnation of our Lord Jeſus "Chriſt: And that, this is the Catholic Faith, "which except a man believe faithfully he can-"not be ſaved." How is it poſſible for a ſerious Clergyman, after ſuch bitter curſing of all the *Euſebians*, to give any of them, who are known to be ſuch, the holy elements, the moſt ſacred tokens of Chriſtian friendſhip, and the moſt ſolemn pledges of the divine favour, that this world can afford, is to me wholly unaccountable. This ſeems too near what the Apoſtle *Paul*, *Heb.* vi. 5, 6, calls *Crucifying the Son of God a-freſh, and putting him to an open ſhame*, and deems there the moſt diſmal mark of reprobation. This is too near,

On

on both ſides, to being *guilty of the Body and Blood of our Lord*, 1 *Cor.* xi. 17. At leaſt it is too near to ridiculing holy things, and pouring contempt upon Chriſt's divine religion, to be any longer endured in any ſociety that call themſelves Chriſtians: Let the legal obligations to ſuch a vile practice be never ſo undeniable. *Whether it be right in the ſight of God, to hearken unto men more than to God, judge ye. Acts* iv. 19. Nay if any ſerious Clergyman knows any of his flock to be in ſo dreadful a ſtate, as theſe curſes ſuppoſe, he ought to admoniſh him firſt alone; and if he will not *hear him*, to do it before *two or three witneſſes*; and if he will not *hear them* to *tell it to the Church*, in order to his excluſion from its communion, eſpecially in the Euchariſt. Nor ſo far as I can judge, ought any ſerious *Euſebian*, or primitive Chriſtian, ſuch as I own myſelf to be, eſpecially if he be alſo a Clergyman himſelf, as I am, to receive the communion from ſuch an *Athanaſian*, who thus frequently and ſolemnly, though moſt unjuſtly, pronounces him *accurſed*, and in a *ſtate of damnation*. I do not mean that ſuch a Clergyman's private opinion, or even public profeſſion of what I call the *Athanaſian Hereſy*, though its defence be now clearly abandoned by all the learned here (as it is, I have great reaſon to believe, ſinking apace out of the Chriſtian World) requires ſuch a refuſal: But I mean that by thus curſing the *Euſebians* or primitive Chriſtians, he renders himſelf, by the laws of Chriſtianity, abſolutely unfit for and unworthy of celebrating the holy communion, and giving it to the *faithful*: How inclinable ſoever I may be to hope, that ſuch a Clergyman may not be abſolutely unfit for or unworthy of performing the other ſacred offices, ſuch I mean at which of old *Heathens*, as well as *Jews* and *Catechumens* were allowed to be preſent:

ſent: Between which offices the primitive church made a mighty diſtinction. Now what is here very remarkable, and proper to direct Chriſtian people, is the known caſe of the great *Origen*: when he was very young, and himſelf, with his mother and brethren, reduced to the utmoſt poverty. At which time a rich lady, out of reſpect and compaſſion for his miſery, afforded him all kind of aſſiſtance, and took him into her houſe. This lady at the ſame time maintained one *Paul*, a notorious heretic (ſuch as I for certain eſteem our preſent ſupporters of the *Athanaſian* faith and *Athanaſian* creed to be) whom ſhe adopted for her ſon, who held conferences in her houſe; where a great number, not only of the heretics, but alſo of the catholics were preſent. But tho' *Origen* was obliged, out of neceſſity, to converſe with this man, yet would he never hold communion with him in prayer; *keeping exactly to the canon of the church*, as the hiſtorian informs us, and teſtifying his abhorrence of the doctrines of heretics. *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl.* vi. 2.

But note, That as I am not *fully ſatisfied* that it is lawful for me to communicate with the church of *England*, ſo far as I have already been willing to allow, and do at preſent practiſe, ſo do I thoroughly take it ſtill for granted, that it can be no longer lawful for me ſo to do, than till I can light of enow to ſet up a truly primitive congregation of Chriſtians, at leaſt of ſuch a *church in a houſe*: Which I earneſtly wiſh may be very ſoon.

Memorandum. That I continued in the communion of the church of *England*, till *Trinity Sunday*, 1747. For tho' I ſtill reſolved to go out of the church, if Mr. *Belgrave* continued to read the *Athanaſian* Creed, ſo did he by omitting it, both on *Eaſterday* and *Whitſunday* this year, prevent my

leaving the public worſhip till *Trinity Sunday:* While he knew I ſhould go out of the church if he began to read it. Yet did he read it that day, to my great ſurprize. Upon which I was obliged to go out, and to go to the Baptiſt Meeting at *Morcot*, two miles off, as I intend to do hereafter, while I am here at *Lyndon*, till ſome better opportunity preſents of ſetting up a more primitive congregation myſelf.

Lyndon, June 15, 1747.

WILL. WHISTON.

As I alſo intend to obſerve *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, not at church, but at home, and to uſe my *Liturgy of the church of England reduced nearer to the primitive ſtandard*, till Providence call me to a larger congregation.

N. B. About *Auguſt* this year, 1748, I was informed of one Dr. *Gill*, a particular or *Calviniſt* Baptiſt, of whoſe ſkill in the oriental languages I had heard a great character. So I had a mind to hear him preach. But being informed that he had written a folio book on the *Canticles*, I declined to go to hear him.

About the ſame time I had a mind to know ſomewhat authenticly of the *Moravians*, of whoſe ſerioufneſs in religion I had heard a good character. Accordingly I went to their bookſeller, Mr. *Hutton*'s ſhop, in *Fetter-lane*, to enquire about them, or buy ſome good account of them. But not meeting with him at home, nor any ſuch account, I bought however a ſmall book of their ſermons, and reading ſome of them I found ſo much weakneſs, and enthuſiaſm mixed with a great degree of ſerioufneſs, that I was cured of my incli-

inclination to go to their public worſhip, and avoided it.

I ſhall now add my laſt famous diſcovery, or rather my revival of Dr. *Giles Fletcher*'s famous diſcovery, that the *Tartars* are no other than the ten tribes of *Iſrael:* Which have been ſo long ſought for in vain.

A Diſcourſe concerning the Tartars, *proving (in all Probability) that they are the* Iſraelites, *or* Ten Tribes, *which being captivated by* Salmanaſſar, *were tranſplanted into* Media.

By Giles Fletcher, *Doctor of both Laws, and ſometime Ambaſſador from* Eliſabeth *Queen of* England, *to the Emperor of* Ruſſia.

For *Zion*'s ſake I will not hold my tongue, and for *Jeruſalem*'s ſake I will not reſt; until the righteouſneſs thereof break forth as the light, and the ſalvation thereof as a burning lamp. *Iſa.* lxii. 1.

[*This was found in Sir* Francis Netherſole*'s ſtudy after his death.*]

The TARTARS.

WHat is become of thoſe *Ten Tribes* which were ſubdued and carried captive by the *Aſſyrians*; and whether they live and hold together as a people apart or ſeveral by themſelves, or are confuſed with other nations; and where they are? is often queſtioned by divines, but not reſolved (for ought I know) with any reaſonable probability.

That they have loſt their name, and the diſtinction of their tribes, is more than probable. For no nation of the world are called *Iſraelites*, and ſo divided at this day. Neither was there cauſe why the diſtinction of their tribes ſhould be continued;

ſeeing the end for which the people were diſparted by God himſelf, is paſſed, and fully accompliſhed long ago. For that men might know where to look for that bleſſed ſeed, it pleaſed God to elect one nation of all the world; and out of that nation, one tribe, or kindred; and out of that tribe one houſe or family, whereof the Meſſias ſhould be born, as touching the fleſh: Who being now come, there is no cauſe the diſtinction of their tribes ſhould ſtill continue. Only the *Jews*, or the tribe of *Judah* retain their name, but are ſo commixed with that of *Benjamin*, as that they are called by one name, ſo that neither the *Benjamites*, nor the *Jews* can tell of what tribe they come.

But that the *Iſraclitiſh* ten tribes are ſomewhere extant, and (by God's providence) as a people kept intirely and unconfuſed with other nations, is plain by this; for that they were not quite deſtroyed, nor diſpeopled, but only captived or tranſplanted by the *Aſſyrians*. And becauſe all *Iſrael* (whereby is meant the whole nation) ſhall be called to the acknowledgment of *Jeſus Chriſt*, to be the *Meſſias*, ſo long expected; yet refuſed by that people, when he came: Which general Calling cannot be true, except thoſe tribes be ſtill continuing, and ſomewhere extant in the world, to be conjoined and reunited as one nation, as once they were.

As for thoſe other two tribes, to wit of *Judah* and of *Benjamin*, which for their notable infidelity, and contempt of the Son of God, are made a ſpectacle to the world, and plagued with this ſo horrible a deſolation, and diſperſion through the world, it is well known both where they are, and how they live; not diſtinguiſhed by their tribes, nor yet united into one policy or community among themſelves, but diffuſed, tho' not confuſed; and diſperſed in ſmall numbers here and there; deprived

prived of all ſave their name, which they retain; and that rather for a reproach, than for any honour or eſtimation in thoſe places where they live; that they may be known by other nations to be that people whom God hath puniſhed, and rejected for that ſin in ſo rejecting the Son of God; but will receive and call again for his own mercy and promiſe ſake.

A thing exemplary to the world; as well of the rigour and ſeverity of God's juſtice, which he would have obſerved and marked by all; but eſpecially by thoſe Chriſtian ſtates wherein they live, leſt for like contempt and infidelity they procure unto themſelves the like judgment. As alſo that of his great and infinite mercy in preſerving that people from mixture and confuſion with other nations, that the truth and certainty of his Word may ſo be known, when they ſhall be called to the public knowledge and profeſſion of *Jeſus Chriſt*, as by his Apoſtle he hath foretold, and will perform in good time.

But theſe other tribes, whereof we ſpeak, that were not maſſacred nor extirpated, but tranſplanted by the *Aſſyrians*, where they now are, and how they have lived ever ſince, and whether they be a ſeveral people, or elſe commixed with other nations, is no where mentioned, either in heathen or ſacred ſtory, for ought I know. Yet is it not hard to find them out, if we enquire and ſeek for them where it is likely they may be found. And the likelieſt place to find them in, is it not in or near thoſe Colonies where they were planted at firſt?

And what I pray you if we ſhould ſeek them among the *Tartars*, who are eſteemed to be the moſt vile or barbarous nation in the world: You will ſay perhaps, a thing unworthy and unbeſeeming that great mercy which God vouchſafed

to that people, when they were yet his own peculiar, an holy nation, elected by God, out of all the nations of the world! And if it could not ſtand with that moſt holy and perfect juſtice, ſo to abaſe a wicked people, and ſo rebellious againſt their God, as were theſe *Iſraelites*; tho' he had caſt them down from the higheſt heaven to the loweſt centre of all diſhonour, even *ad Tartaros*; whereby (in the poets phraſe) is meant the place of the damned ſouls, and hell itſelf; in a reſemblance (as may be thought) of like diſorder and confuſion in both places.

As for that conjecture of ſome divines that they are the people called *Alani*, it is not only a very improbable, but a very abſurd and groſs opinion. Theſe *Alani* (as all Men know) being a people not of *Aſia* but of *Europe*; by their other name called *Triballi*, and this their paſſage and expedition through the one country to the other (which was to be made through ſo great nations, both of the upper and lower *Aſia*) being impoſſible (at leaſt very unlikely) to be paſſed over by all ſtories, which ſince have written in every age. Only I hear the ſame affirmed by that learned *Frenchman*, *Philip Morney*, Lord of *Pleſſey*; (whom I name for honour's ſake; both for his learning and nobility thrice renowned) but not confirmed by any reaſon, ſave that he draweth from the notation of the word. For that *Tartar*, in the *Syrian* tongue, ſignifieth *Remnants* or *Remainders*. But that the *Tartars* are the *Iſraelites*, which were tranſported into *Media*, and the other two adjoining countries, you ſhall hear ſuch reaſons as I obſerved when I remained among the *Ruſſes*, their next neighbours, ſome years ago; which if they be not demonſtrative, yet to me ſeem ſo probable, as that myſelf am now perſuaded and fully ſettled in that opinion, that

that they are the natural and true offspring and poſterity of thoſe *Iſraelites*.

My firſt reaſon is from the place. The place whither they were tranſported by the *Aſſyrians*, and there planted (as is in the manner of great Conquerors, when they aſpire unto a monarchy, to abate the ſpirits of ſuch a people as may be dangerous to their State, and likely otherwiſe to make a revolt, as were the *Iſraelites*, who could not endure a foreign prince, to break their ſtrength by dividing them into many parts) were the cities and parts of *Media*, then a province, and in ſubjection to the *Aſſyrians*; where they placed the greateſt number, as by the ſtory may be gathered, the reſt in *Harack*, and by the river *Habor*. Of which the one is part of *Chaldaran*, the other a river of *Meſopotamia*, with a town adjoining of the ſame name.

The country of *Media* (as it is deſcribed by coſmographers, but more particularly by our merchants, and other travellers which have been there) lieth about the *Caſpian Sea*; which the *Ruſſe* calleth *Bachualenſkey*, and by taking away the firſt ſyllable for ſhortneſs ſake (wherewith the *Sclavon* and *Ruſſe* tongues are much delighted) *Chualenſkey More*. All which countries lying upon the north-eaſt and northern ſide of the *Caſpian* or *Chualenſkey*, to the *Siberian* and northern ſea (which containeth in it a large territory, by the deſcription of coſmographers, and the report of ſuch as have been there) is now poſſeſſed and inhabited by the *Tartars*; and by the conſent of all ſtories, which ſince have written of the *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* monarchies, hath ſo continued ſince *Cyrus*'s time; who, after he had obtained the monarchy, did firſt invade thoſe *Scythian* ſhepherds, or *Tartar* people, two hundred years (or thereabout) after the *Iſraelites* deportation, who were grown by that time a very great and mighty

people. For we may not think, neither is it likely, that the *Aſſyrians*, who were the monarchs of all the Eaſt, would place a conquered and captive people in the faireſt cities of all *Media*, and pleaſanteſt places of that country, which lie on the ſouth and ſouth-weſt parts of the *Bachualenſkey* or *Caſpian* ſea; which by report of all ſtories and travellers which have been there, is one of the ſweeteſt and fertileſt countries of all the world, and beſt repleniſhed with all things neceſſary and delightful; but rather in the remote and barren places of that country, which were beyond the *Caſpian* ſea, upon the north and north-eaſt parts; where theſe *Tartar* people have had their dwelling and habitation ever ſince.

As for thoſe other two colonies of the *Iſraelites*, which were placed in *Harach* and *Habore*, they bordered both upon the *Medians*; ſo that all theſe tribes might eaſily meet and join together, when opportunity ſerved their turn; which happened to them not long after, when all thoſe provinces of *Media*, *Chaldaran*, *Meſopotamia*, with their governors, *Merodach-Baladan*, and *Deioces*, by a defection fell away from the *Aſſyrians*, in the tenth year of *Aſſer-Addon*. And that theſe tribes not long after did reunite themſelves, and join together in one nation, as they were before, being induced partly by their own deſire; (as ever diſdaining to live commixed with other people;) and partly forced by the violence of the *Medians*, who expelled them thence; being but ſtrangers and thruſt upon them by the *Aſſyrians*, ſhall appear plainly by that which follows.

2. A ſecond reaſon is from the names and appellations of their cities and great towns, which are ſituate upon the eaſt and north-eaſt ſide of the *Bachualenſkey* or *Caſpian* Sea. Theſe *Tartar* cities, which yet are extant, have many of them the ſame

names

names as had thoſe ancient towns and cities which were inhabited by the *Iſraelites*, while they enjoyed their own country. Their metropolite or chief city (though now deformed by many ruins) is *Samarchian*; which hath many monuments of that nation (as they report who have been there:) Where the great *Tamerlane*, who led about in a golden chain the *Turkiſh* Emperor, called *Bajazet*, had his ſeat and place of reſidence. And how little is *Samarchian* from *Samaria*, the chief city of theſe *Iſraelites*, the ſeat and chamber of their kings; only differing in termination; a thing uſual in proper names of men or cities, when they are pronounced in divers languages. For what differs the name of *Londres* (as it is termed by the *French*) from this of *London?* or the Town of *Antwerp* from that of *Anverſe?* or *Edinborough* from *Edinburgum?* The ſame difference may be obſerved in the proper names of men and women, both in the front and firſt ſyllable and termination of the name. For what conſonance hath *Maria* or *Mariamne* with that of *Miriam* among the *Hebrews?* or the *Engliſh James*, or the *Scottiſh Jamie*, with the *French Jaques*, or the *Latin Jacobus?* and yet theſe names are all one.

They have alſo *Mount Tabor*, a great town and well fenced with a ſtrong fort, ſituate upon an high hill, nothing differing in form or name from that *Mount Tabor* of the *Iſraelites*, ſo often mentioned in the Scriptures. They have a city called *Jericho*, ſeated upon the river *Ardock*, near the *Caſpian*, upon the north and north-eaſt. They have *Corazen* the Great and Leſs, whereof the leſs was ſurprized not long ago (—*deeſt nonnihil*, I gueſs by the *Ruſſe*) upon whoſe country the *Tartar* people ſometime encroach, and he on theirs.

This univocation of *Tartar* cities with thoſe of *Iſrael*, concurring with the former reaſon from the place

place and country, whither they were ſometime tranſplanted by the *Aſſyrians*, doth plainly ſhew that the *Iſraelitiſh* people have been there, and given the names unto theſe cities; as the manner is in all places, for remembrance of their countries and dwellings from whence they came, or of the planters and firſt founders of the colonies; as of *Galatia*, by the *Gauls*; and the *Tyre* of *Africk*, from that of *Phœnice*; the like is now uſed in new colonies, as *Nova Frantia*, *Nova Hiſpania*, *St. Domingo*, *Carthagena*, and other like.

Theſe *Tartar* cities are inhabited by ſo many as are ſufficient to defend them from the hoſtility of the *Perſian* and other borderers. But the greater part, which are commonly called σκυθαὶ νομάδες, or *Scythian* ſhepherds, do ſeldom come within any city or ſtanding houſes, except it be in winter time; but abide in tents, or walking houſes, which the *Latin* writers call *Weij*; which are built and carried upon wheels, like carts or waggons.

Their manner is in ſummer time, when graſs is grown, and fit for paſturage, with their herds and flocks to march northward and north-weſt, from the ſouth-eaſt parts (where they continue all winter) not altogether, but in their *Hoords* and ſeveral armies, under the conduct and direction of their *Morſeyes* and *Divoymorſeys*, which are their Princes and Vicegerents, under the great *Cham*, their Emperor; and to graze along by the way they go until they come to their next ſtage, or reſting-place; where they plant their *Veij* or waggon-houſes, and ſo make the form of a great city, with many ſtreets, continuing there till their cattle have grazed up all. Thus they proceed by ſmall ſtages till they arrive at the fartheſt point towards the North, and then return toward the South, or ſouth-eaſt parts, by another way; where their cattle have freſh paſturage: And ſo retiring

by

by ſhort journeys, by the end of ſummer, they arrive again in the ſouth-eaſt country, near the *Caſpian*, in a more mild and temperate climate; where they continue all the winter, within their cities or cart-houſes, ſet together, in form and faſhion of a town, as before was ſaid.

3. My third reaſon is from the *Diſtinction* of their tribes, which by the *Tartars* are called *Hoords*, which being united in one Government, and communicable in all things elſe, yet may not unite or mix together by intermarriage; but keep apart, to avoid the confuſion of their kindred; except it be for the defence or public benefit of the whole. And this diviſion of the nation into tribes, without commixion of their kindreds (which was no where uſed by any nation, ſave the *Iſraelites)* is ſtill continued, and obſerved among the *Tartars* moſt religiouſly.

A fourth reaſon is, from the *number* of their tribes, which are *ten* in all, neither more nor leſs, as were the *Iſraelites*. Their names are theſe: 1. The *Crim Tartar*; who moſt infeſteth the *Ruſſe* Borders; for which reſpect the chief leaders of this tribe, whom they call *Morſeys*, or *Divoymorſeys*, receive their penſions from the *Ruſſe*, not to invade or hurt their country: 2. The *Cheremiſſim:* 3. The *Morduit Tartar:* 4. The *Nagay*, whereof the one is the warlyeſt people, the other the cruelleſt, and moſt barbarous of all the reſt: 5. The *Zeibair*; from whence the *Siberes*, or *Siberians*, which dwell by the river *Obba*, derive their pedigree, and are therefore reckoned and annumbered to this tribe: 6. The *Mecrit Hoord:* 7. The *Shalcan:* 8. The *Chircaſſey*; the moſt civil *Tartar* of all the reſt; of a comely perſon, and much affecting to be like the *Lachiſh* or *Polonian*, in his habit, geſture, and whole behaviour: 9. The *Caſſach:* The 10th and laſt is called *Turcheſtan*;

cheſtan; which imports as much as *Herdman-Tartar*; becauſe this *Hoord* is the greateſt herd-maſter and cattle-breeder of all the reſt; from whom the *Turks* had their beginning, as ſaith the *Ruſſe*.

And that this is true, beſide the report of the *Ruſſe* people, and other borderers, which have beſt cauſe to know their pedigree, it is the opinion of all hiſtorians which lived about the time when the *Turkiſh* nation firſt invaded the upper *Aſia*, and began to grow a great and mighty monarchy. Among the reſt it ſhall not be idle or impertinent to report here what *Laonicus Chalcocondylas* (the *Athenian*) briefly writeth, in the beginning of his ſtory, touching the origin of the *Turks*.

It is thought (ſaith he) that the *Turkiſh* nation derives their pedigree from the *Scythians*, which are commonly called the *Tartarians*; very probably, becauſe they differ very little in tongue or manners. That the *Tartar* people have ſundry times invaded *Aſia* (what time the *Parthians* held the monarchy of the Eaſt;) firſt the upper, and then the lower, as *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Cappadocia*, it is well known to the inhabitants of thoſe countries. And truly even at this day you may ſee a great number of ſuch people diſperſed abroad here and there through all *Aſia*, who in their diet and whole Behaviour reſemble the *Scythian* or *Tartar* people. And a little after; It is a very manifeſt truth, that the *Tartars* which now inhabit a part of *Europe* towards the Eaſt (whereby he meaneth the *Crim Tartar*) have a reſemblance every way with the *Turkiſh* nation, which are of *Aſia*; daily bartering and commercing with them in diet, habit, and whole behaviour, agreeing with the *Turk*. And no marvel is it, becauſe the *Scythians* or *Tartar* people were ſometimes Lords both of the higher and lower *Aſia*. The name of *Turk*, whereby is ſignified an *Herdman*, or one

that

that liveth a wild life among beaſts and cattle, doth likewiſe argue the very ſame, that the *Turkiſh* nation hath their beginning from the *Tartars*, or *Scythian* ſhepherds. Thus far *Laonicus Chalcocondylas*, in his ſtory, written in *Greek*, where he beginneth with the *Oguſians*, the *Turkiſh* Emperors, afterward called *Othomans*, about the year of Chriſt 1294.

But to return: Theſe *Scythian* ſhepherds, now called *Tartars* (as by all Stories both *Greek* and *Latin* may appear) have contained themſelves in thoſe countries betwixt the *Caſpian* and *Northern* Seas ſince *Cyrus*'s time; when for their victory againſt ſo great and mighty a monarch, they began to be firſt known, and famous to other nations. How long before it is not recorded by any ſtory, but that they inhabited not that country which is now poſſeſſed by the *Tartars*, till after the *Iſraelite* deportation into *Media* (which was 240 years or thereabout before *Cyrus*'s time) may be collected out of the beſt and ancienteſt ſtories.

5. Themſelves affirm (as they have received it by *Tradition* from their anceſtors) that they had their origin from the *Iſraelites*, who were tranſplanted near the *Caſpian* or *Hircane* Sea. By which tradition (as by the ſtories of thoſe times is reported) the great *Tamerlane* would boaſt himſelf that he was deſcended from the *Tribe of Dan*.

6. Sixthly, Though the *Tartar* language be yet unknown, becauſe they live as a ſavage people, without ſociety or commerce with other nations, ſuffering none to come within them, yet it is conjectured by certain words of the *Tartar* language, which I have heard repeated by the *Ruſſe*, that they have many *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* words: Whereof alſo this may be an argument, that the *Turkiſh* is a dialect little differing from the *Scythian* or *Tartar* tongue. But the *Turkiſh* language, though it be mingled with much *Arabic* and ſome *Greek*,

Greek, hath great conſonance with the *Hebrew*, as by learned travellers is obſerved.

7. Seventhly, They are circumciſed, as were the *Iſraelite* and *Jewiſh* people.

8. The laſt reaſon (which I allege to give occaſion to our divines to conſider better of this place) is taken out of the ſixteenth chapter of the *Apocalypſe:* Where the Angel of the ſixth Phial is commanded to prepare the paſſage for the kings of the Eaſt, by drying up the river *Euphrates*, which by all Interpreters of that place is underſtood of the *Jews* calling from the diſperſion among the *Gentiles*, unto their ancient dwelling, and native county, there to profeſs the true knowledge of God in Chriſt: which (as I take it) cannot be meant of the tribe of *Judah*, for the exceptions which may be forced from the very place, and text itſelf.

Firſt, Becauſe the tribe of *Judah*, and the remainder of that of *Benjamin*, which were diſpeopled, and carried captive by the *Romans*, have their being, and are diſperſed, not in the eaſt, or north-eaſt countries, from whence the paſſage toward *Syria* and *Paleſtine* lyeth over the river *Euphrates*; but in theſe weſtern and ſouthern parts of *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, where ever ſince they have continued in that exiled and ſervile ſtate. From whence the paſſage toward *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, lieth not over the river *Euphrates*, but is far wide and diſtant from it, toward the North and North-eaſt. Secondly, becauſe the perſons there mentioned, which are to paſs over the river *Euphrates*, are called Kings, which being taken for ſpiritual kings (as they intend it) is but a forced expoſition; the whole number of the faithful Chriſtians (in this ſenſe) being kings alike; neither is it agreeable with the meaning of that place, which ſpeaketh plainly of ſuch kings, as are to lead

lead ſome great army over the river *Euphrates*. But being literally underſtood of Kings indeed, can no ways ſuit with the *Jewiſh* tribe, which hath no kings; but is all a poor and ſervile people to the towns and countries where they dwell. The place therefore is litterally to be underſtood of theſe *Iſraelitiſh* ten tribes, which we affirm to be the *Tartar*.

Firſt, Becauſe theſe ten tribes, or Hoords of *Tartars* from the iſle of *Patmos*, where *John* wrote, are an orient or eaſtern people, on the Eaſt and North-eaſt of the *Caſpian*; which cannot be ſaid of the *Jewiſh* tribe, or that of *Benjamin*, as now they dwell in the hither parts of *Aſia*, *Africa*, or *Europe*, which lie ſouth and ſouth-weſt towards *Euphrates*. *Secondly*, From the ſituation of the place: For that the *Tartars*, whom we ſuppoſe to be the *Iſraelites*, can no way paſs out of the countries where they now dwell, toward *Judæa*, or *Paleſtine*, which lieth ſouthward from the *Caſpian* or *Hircan* Sea, but over the river *Euphrates*, which lieth acroſs, and intermeddle between theſe two countries. *Thirdly*, Becauſe the title and name of Kings (in the plural number) agreeth properly with the *Tartars*, who have many kings, to wit, as many as they have tribes: Every *Morſey*, or *Divoymorſey* (beſides their Emperor the Great *Cham*, whom they eſteem above the dignity of a King) being a Prince, or ſovereign Lord over his tribe.

To which purpoſe the feigned *Eſdras* (whom I alledge not as authentic, to confirm matters of faith, and doctrine; but to illuſtrate as a ſtory this holy prophecy, which is more obſcurely here ſet down by the apoſtle) inferreth the Angel thus expounding his night-viſion of things to come in the later times. 2 Eſdras, 13. cap. *That which thou ſawest*, (to wit) *the Man who there is called*

The

The Son of God, *to gather unto him another multitude of more peaceable and quiet people, are the* Ten Tribes, *which were carried captive out of their land in the time of* Oſeas *King of* Iſrael, *whom* Salmanaſſar *King of* Aſer, *carried beyond the River* Euphrates: *So were they brought into another land. But they took this counſel among themſelves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go into a farther country, where never men had dwelt before.* Whereby it ſeems he meant the country which lieth betwixt the *Bachualenſkey*, and Northern Seas; which is poſſeſſed by the *Tartars*. And a little after (ver. 46.) *Then dwelt they there till the latter time. But when they ſhall come forth again, the Moſt High ſhall hold faſt the ſprings of the river*, (to wit, Euphrates) *that they may paſs through. Therefore ſaweſt thou the multitude peaceable.*

Where he telleth that this return of the holy people over *Euphrates* towards their country, in the latter times, is meant of the *Iſraelitiſh* ten tribes, which were carried captives by the *Aſſyrians*, who, after the manner of that people, would live alone, not commixed with other nations; and therefore brake out of the colonies where they were placed by the *Aſſyrians*, and went from thence to a remote and inward country, as is *Tartaria*, from the ſociety of other men: Which cannot be ſaid of the *Jewiſh* tribe, which notwithſtanding, by the example of theſe other tribes, ſhall be encouraged to join together, and to march likewiſe out of the places where now they are, towards the country of *Judea*, without any impeachment or reſiſtance of other nations.

As for the manner of paſſing over the ſaid river, whether it ſhall be an actual drying of the water, or a removal of all impediments which may ſtop or hinder their ſpeedy paſſage, in this their expedition toward their country, I will not now

now argue it at this time. That it ſhall be an actual exſiccation of that river, with no leſs miracle than the drying up of the Red Sea, or the river *Jordan*, when they paſſed towards the land of *Canaan*, that ſo this work of God, which ſhall be famous in all the world, even the reſtoring of this people, may be obſerved by other nations, with great reaſon and probability is affirmed by *Thomas Brightman*, the laſt interpreter of that book, whom God endued with ſpecial gifts and great *brightneſs*, after his name, for the full clearing and expoſition of that prophecy, above all that hitherto have written of it.

N. B. Several of the obſervations in this paper of Dr. *Giles Fletcher* (whoſe brother was afterward Biſhop of *London*, in the days of King *James* I.) are confirmed in his own ſmall, but moſt accurate account of *Ruſſia*, written *A. D.* 1589, it ſeems, before he diſcovered the *Tartars* were the ten tribes, as the inquiſitive reader may ſee in the xixth chapter of that hiſtory concerning the *Tartars* as bordering on the *Ruſſians*, pag. 155—179.

N. B. The name of the country, whither the ten tribes went in, 4 *Eſd.* xiii. 45. as in the Margin *Ararath*, and in the *Arabic Ach-arari*, or *Armenia*, which is no way improbable.

N. B. Altho' this author's notions, that *Media* extended to the north of the *Caſpian* Sea; that *Cyrus* the Great had war with the *Scythians*, and was conquered by them, and that the VIth Vial in the *Revelation* is meant of the ten tribes, cannot, I think, be defended; yet may his opinion of the *Tartars* being the ten tribes, be throughly ſupported, by deriving their origin from the *Caduſians*, which in my *Sacred Hiſtory of the Old Te-*

ſtament, pag. 542, 543. I ſuppoſe to have been really thoſe ten tribes, in the days of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. And ſince it appears that what this author affirms of the *Tartars*, is true, that they are *circumciſed*, the known ancient *circumciſion* of the *Colchians*, and thoſe people that dwelt near them, in the days of *Herodotus*, of which in the place juſt now quoted, will be a notable confirmation that they are really the ſame ten tribes. I therefore here inſert this ſmall paper, which I have long had in my cuſtody, but which has been very little known by the learned hitherto: It was found in MS. in Sir *Francis Netherſole*'s ſtudy (who had been an ambaſſador himſelf) at *Poleſworth*, *Warwickſhire*, after his death, in *Charles* the IId's time; tho' I find it is in print, and in the *Bodleian* Library.

N. B. It may be proper to ſet down here what evidence I have already produced out of my *Sacred Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament*, pag. 542, 543. and what is there quoted out of my *Authentic Records*, pag. 53, 54. about this matter. *Artaxerxes (Mnemon)* having thus finiſhed the *Cyprian* war, * led an army of 300,000 foot, and 10,000 horſe againſt the *Caduſians*: But the country, by reaſon of its barrenneſs, not affording proviſions enough to feed ſo large an army, he had like to have loſt them all for want thereof; but that *Tiribaſus* extricated him from this danger: He followed the king in this expedition, or rather was led with the court in it as a priſoner, being in great diſgrace becauſe of *Oroute*'s accuſation; and having received information, that whereas the *Caduſians* had two kings, they did not act in thorough concert together, by reaſon of the jealouſy and miſtruſt

* *Plutarchus* in *Artaxerxe*. *Diodorus Sic.* lib. 15. p. 462.

which

which they had of each other, but that each led and encamped his forces apart from the other, he propoſed to *Artaxerxes* the bringing them to ſubmiſſion by a treaty: And having undertaken the management of it, he went to one of the kings, and ſent his ſon to the other, and ſo ordered the matter that making each of them believe that the other was treating ſeparately with the king, brought both ſeparately to ſubmit to him, and ſo ſaved him and all his army. Theſe people * inhabited ſome part of the mountainous country which lies between the *Euxine* and the *Caſpian* Seas, to the north of *Media*, where † they having neither ſeed-time nor harveſt, lived moſtly upon apples and pears, and other ſuch tree fruits; the land by reaſon of its ruggedneſs and unfertility not being capable of tillage: And this was that which brought the *Perſians* into ſuch diſtreſs, when they invaded them; the country not being capable of affording proviſions for ſo great an army. *Fuller* ‡ hath a conceit that theſe *Caduſians* were the deſcendants of the *Iſraelites* of the ten tribes, which the kings of *Aſſyria* carried captive out of the land of *Canaan:* But his reaſon for it being only that he thinks they were called *Caduſians* from the *Hebrew* word *Keduſhim*, which ſignifieth *holy people:* This is not foundation enough to build ſuch an aſſertion upon: It would have been a better argument for this purpoſe, had he urged for it, that ‖ the *Colchians* and neighbouring nations are ſaid anciently to have uſed circumciſion; for not far from the *Colchians* was the country of the *Caduſians*. [But that this opinion is not an improbable one,

* *Strabo*, lib. 2. p. 507, 508, 510, 523, 524.
† *Plutarchus* in *Artaxerxe*.
‡ *Miſcel.* lib. 2. c. 5.
‖ *Herodotus*, lib. 2. *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 1.

ſee *Authent. Rec.* part 1. pag. 53, 54. This country is alſo by *Xenophon* called *Caldæa*, the original ſeat of *Abraham*, the father of all the twelve tribes, as is well known.]

So far out of my *Sacred Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament*. Take now what is in my *Authentic Records*, pag. 53, 54.

5. We have another very ſtrong internal argument for the genuine truth of this fourth book of *Eſdras*, which uſed to be made a principal argument againſt it, I mean that account we have of the removal of the ten tribes out of the *Medoperſian* empire, into a country uninhabited till that time. 4 *Eſd.* xiii. 39—47. It is evident and confeſſed by all, that theſe ten tribes were carried thither by the *Aſſyrians*, *Pul*, *Tiglath-Pul-Aſſar*, and *Salman-Aſſar:* They were there till the death of *Tobias* jun. who was one of them, when *Niniveth* was deſtroyed by *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Aſtyages: Tobit* xiv. 14, 15. Their ſituation beyond *Euphrates* was known when *Baruch* wrote his epiſtle and poſtſcript to them, after the *Jewiſh* temple was burned by *Nebuchadnezzar*; of which we have already treated: See *Authent. Rec.* pag. 13—27. They were alſo there in the days of our *Eſdras*, when he wrote his two firſt chapters of this book to them, as then captives under the *Medes* and *Perſians*; 4 *Eſd.* i. 24. which I take to have been about the fifteenth year of this *Artaxerxes*; yet it is withal evident, that when *Zerduſht*, the great legiſlator of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, ſet up his *Religion of Abraham* in that empire, which, as we ſhall ſee, was about the middle of this reign, there appear no *Jews* there; as we may eaſily obſerve thro' the whole hiſtory of Dr. *Hyde*, and that neither their brethren, the *Jews* of the two tribes in *Judea*, nor thoſe in *Babylon* have ever ſince been able to give us any good account of them; or

have

have indeed at all known were they were to this very day. What is the natural, the neceſſary conſequence of all this? but that about the very time here ſpecified, theſe ten tribes really removed themſelves unto ſome, till then, and till now, unknown part of the world, as we are here particularly informed. Accordingly we find an account in *Plutarch*'s Life of this *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, that in the twenty-firſt year of his reign [*Anno ante Æram Chriſti* 384.] there were a people called *Caduſians* or *Holy People*, (which was the common name for the *Jews* there in thoſe days) ſituate on the north-weſt parts of *Media*, near the beginning of the river *Euphrates*, whither this account ſuppoſes the ten tribes to have bent their courſe *. We alſo find theſe *Caduſii* or *Holy People*, when purſued and attacked by the *Perſians*, eſcaping thoſe *Perſians* under the conduct of two kings or leaders †; as the forefathers of the *Jews* had eſcaped the *Egyptians* under the conduct of *Moſes* and *Aaron*; and probably not without ſome ſuch *ſigns* or *wonderful works* as *Moſes* and *Aaron* of old wrought, and of which our accounts here make expreſs mention. 4 *Eſd.* xiii. 44. Though the *Perſians*, as is very uſual, endeavour to palliate the matter, by aſcribing their own deliverance to a knaviſh ſtratagem of one *Tiribazus*; while they confeſs that otherwiſe their army had been deſtroyed by theſe *Caduſians*. We may alſo take notice, that of theſe *Caduſians*, yet we have nothing till this time; and that *Strabo* calls them *Foreigners*, that came thither from elſewhere. XI. pag. 794.

We alſo find that this rout or journey is very agreeable to that year and half's time, which this author allows for it; the road from *Ecbatana* the

* See *Fuller*'s *Miſcellanies*, l. ii. c. 5.
† Prid. at *Anno* 384. & *Anno* 610.

capital of *Media*, to *Samarchand* the capital of the ten tribes, round the *Caſpian* Sea, being little leſs than 2000 miles. xiii. 45.

And laſtly, we may remark, that ſince *Artaxerxes* thought fit to bring no fewer than 310,000 men into the field againſt theſe *Caduſians*, as *Plutarch* witneſſes, it looks much more like an attempt to recover theſe intire ten tribes of *Iſrael*, who had long been his ſubjects, his ſlaves, and and his captives, but were now departed out of his dominions, (like *Pharaoh*'s attempt in *Egypt)* than to reduce only certain ſcattered mountaineers who were in rebellion againſt him, as *Plutarch* ſuppoſes, *&c.* *

To conclude, the judicious reader need but carefully read the learned *N. Fuller*'s ſecond book and fifth chapter, written on purpoſe againſt this notion, and he will be thereby ſtrongly confirmed in its truth.

N. B. There being juſt now come out the firſt volume of a very remarkable book, by Mr. *Archibald Bower*, a convert from popery, *Of the Hiſtory of the Popes:* Which volume includes that earlieſt period, in which I have ſo long and ſo throughly been converſant; it may juſtly be expected I ſhould take ſome notice of it; which I ſhall do in this place, tho' very briefly.

But before I begin my other obſervations, I ſhall own that I have met with one in him, as to *Clemens Romanus*, which as often as I have read his writings, neither I, nor any other, I ſuppoſe, ever took notice of before, *viz.* that he ſays, *Jacob was his father*, πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰακώβ, Epiſt. i. § 4. as if he were by birth a *Jew*. This might be true even of a citizen of *Rome*, and one born at

* *See* Strabo ubi prius.

Rome,

Rome, as was *Clement*. So I heartily thank Mr. *Bower* for this obſervation.

Now this Notion that *Clement Romanus* was a *Jew*, is ſtrongly confirmed by what he ſays himſelf, Epiſt. i. § 12. *That Rahab tyed a red or ſcarlet thread to her houſe to give notice it was to be preſerved; but withal to denote that ſalvation was to be had by the blood of the Lord; and that they were to eſteem that as a prophetic indication of the death of Chriſt.* [This looks much more like a *Jew* than a *Gentile*.] But to proceed:

1. Mr. *Bower*, with ſome weak proteſtants before him, almoſt pretends to deny that *Peter* ever was at *Rome*, pag. 1, 2, 3. concerning which matter take my own former words, out of my three Tracts, pag. 53. 'Mr. *Baratier* proves in his firſt 'chap. moſt throughly, as Biſhop *Pearſon* had 'done before him, that St. *Peter* was at *Rome*. 'This is ſo clear in Chriſtian antiquity, that 'tis 'a ſhame for a proteſtant to confeſs that any 'proteſtant ever denied it.' I think St. *John*, in the *Revelation* xi. 8. as the moſt and beſt copies have it, *where alſo their lord* [Peter] *was crucified*, has fully determined this point; and aſſured us that *Peter* was crucified at *Rome*, as all antiquity agrees alſo. This partial proceedure demonſtrates, that tho' Mr. *Bower* has gotten clear of the prejudices of popery, yet has he by no means gotten clear of the prejudices of ſome proteſtants, as an impartial writer of hiſtory, which he ſtrongly pretends to be, ought to do, and has in this caſe greatly hurt the proteſtant cauſe, inſtead of helping it. He might have denied his being *biſhop of Rome*, without diſputing his being *there*.

2. Mr. *Bower* is but poorly acquainted with the firſt, and part of the ſecond centuries of Chriſtianity, as all men muſt of neceſſity be, who take little notice of any books of the *New Teſtament*,

but thoſe which the vulgar *Latin* Bible contains. This is one of the moſt pernicious errors which the moderns are guilty of, and which when it is once corrected, the groſſer errors of the proteſtants, as well as the groſſer errors of the papiſts, will be too plain to be denied or excuſed any longer. Nor ought Mr. *Bower* to ſlight that excellent book of the *Recognitions of Clement*, tho' it be not properly a book of the *New Teſtament*, nor has come ſo uncorrupt to our hands as were to be wiſhed, ſince it appears to be a work of the firſt century itſelf. See *Sacred Hiſtory of the New Teſtament*, pag. 373, 441. and the *Preface* to my *Engliſh* edition.

3. Mr. *Bower* banters the famous victory of St. *Peter* over *Simon Magus*, at *Rome*, one of the beſt atteſted miracles of the *New Teſtament*, and contained in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions themſelves, lib. vi. chap. 9. See my ſheet againſt Mr. *Collins*, pag. 9.

4. He ſlights the ſecond epiſtle of *Clement*; which when we examined it in our ſociety, above thirty years ago, appeared to be certainly genuine.

5. He does not allow that *Paul* was in *Spain*, contrary to *Clement*'s undiſputed teſtimony, that he went *to the utmoſt bounds of the Weſt*. See *Sacred Hiſtory of the New Teſtament*, pag. 67.

6. Mr. *Bower* places the ſeries of the firſt biſhops of *Rome* wrong, as others had done before him; for want of conſidering that much more authentic account in my three Tracts, pag. 49, and *Sacred Hiſtory of the New Teſtament*, pag. 89. As demonſtrated long ago in the third volume of my *Primitive Chriſtianity Revived*, pag. 96—106.

7. He deſpiſes *traditions*, even near the times of the apoſtles themſelves, from whom all ſuch *traditions* were then derived; and which I have com-

commonly found to be of more ſure authority, as to points of practice and diſcipline, in thoſe early times, than the quotations of particular texts of Scripture themſelves; I mean after the apoſtolical age. Traditions of the fourth and following centuries are one thing, and thoſe of the ſecond and third quite another.

8. In page 27, Mr. *Bower* miſtakes the Affair of *Anicetus* and *Polycarp*, as belonging to the *Quartodeciman* controverſy, as do others, and I myſelf did formerly. See Three Tracts, pag. 70, 71. where it is ſet right from the original evidence itſelf.

9. He, without reaſon, rejects the epiſtles of Pope *Victor* to *Deſiderius* and *Paracodas*, which appear to be quite of another nature and origin from the other groſs decretals, ſo juſtly now rejected by all the learned. See Three Tracts, pag. 63—70.

10. Mr. *Bower* generally believes the tales of *Athanaſius*, a notorious forger and liar, and with Pope *Julius*, the firſt proper papiſt in the world; againſt the better evidence of genuine antiquity. See my *Ancient Monuments*, pag. 102, *&c.* and *Athanaſian Forgeries*, at large.

11. Mr. *Bower* excuſes the tranſlation of biſhops, contrary to the old laws and practice of the Chriſtian church till the fourth century. This is the groſſeſt article in this whole volume; which if the *Engliſh* biſhops had not practiſed, I ſuppoſe he would hardly have ventured upon. See my *Chriſtian Diſcipline*, pag. 39—43.

12. Mr. *Bower* is too bitter in his reflections, and while, after the heats ariſen upon the late rebellion, had but too much exaſperated the *Britiſh* proteſtants againſt the papiſts, he increaſes that ferment, which he ought to have endeavoured to allay. When the proteſtants have corrected their

their own many and grievous errors and evil practices, it will be time enough to be ſo ſevere upon thoſe of others. However, Mr. *Bower* ſeems to be a great maſter of theſe later popiſh antiquities and knaveries in and ſince the fourth century. But as I am very little acquainted with thoſe ages I intend to meddle no farther about them.

Sept. 28, 1748.

WILL. WHISTON.

An extract out of Dr. Watts's *Funeral Sermon, by Mr.* David Jennings, *Page* 24.

IN the month of *September*, 1712, he was viſited with a violent fever, which broke his conſtitution, and left ſuch weakneſs upon his Nerves, as continued with him, in ſome meaſure, to his dying day. Upon this occaſion, *prayer was made without ceaſing, of the church, unto God for him.* Several days of prayer were kept on his account; in which many of his brethren in in the miniſtry aſſiſted and wreſtled earneſtly with God for the continuance of ſo valuable a life; and God has been graciouſly pleaſed to anſwer their prayers, by adding to his life thirty-ſix years.

Lyndon, Dec. 27, 1748.

A Letter to Mr. *Arnald*,

Hon. SIR.

I Have pretty carefully peruſed part of your Commentary on *Eccleſiaſticus*, and am going on in its peruſal. I am in the main highly pleaſed with the work, and am very glad of the number of your ſubſcribers, and have recommended the ſame to the Society at *Stamford*.

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As for the *Authentic Records*, and Dr. *Lee*'s *Diſſertation*, which ſhould always go along with the double copy of *Eſdras*, I have them not here, but at *London*, where I hope to be in leſs than a month, and where you may have them of me at Mr. *Biſhop*'s, a bookſeller, in *Little-Turn-ſtile*, *Holbourn:* But inſtead of money for them, I had rather have three copies of both your commentaries for them, and for the great laſt work of my life, the ſix volumes of my *Sacred Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament*; which are now ſent by the bearer accordingly. Your talent in the moral and religious books of *Apocrypha*, is very great and uncommon, and I am ſo much concerned for the good ſucceſs of the ſame, that I wiſh you would ſtop here, and not venture upon *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Baruch*, *Maccabees*, and *Eſdras*, which are quite of another nature, and require quite another talent. You did very well to procure the biſhop of *Durham*'s *Chronological Diſſertation*, to prefix to your Comment on *Eccleſiaſticus*; he being a great maſter of chronology: But I believe he will not enter into the chronology of the other books, as I have done. And I beg of you not to venture upon them without his Aſſiſtance. I am,

SIR,

Your very loving Brother

and Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

London

Lyndon Rutland, Dec. 28, 1741.

To the Biſhop of *Durham.*

My Lord,

FInding ſo great a chronologer as your Lordſhip, quite puzzled about the date of the book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, as appears by your *Chronological Diſſertation* prefixed to Mr. *Arnald*'s *Commentary*; I venture to put you in mind, how obvious that date is, as ſet down by *Calviſius* himſelf, or any common chronologer; even without recourſe to the *Monumentum Adulitanum*, which yet I had made uſe of in my *Sacred Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament*, pag. 736. *viz.* that *Jeſus* the tranſlator came into *Egypt* in the thirty-eighth year of the common *Dionyſian* or *Egyptian Æra*; which began, as is well known, *June* 26th, *anno ante æram Chriſtianam* 285, and of which the 38th year accordingly began, *June* 26, 247, and ended *June* 26, *A.* 248. We therefore clearly learn from this original author, that *Euergetes* reigned before the thirty-eighth *Dionyſian* or *Egyptian* year was ended; whether his father was actually dead, or quite diſtracted and uncapable of government only, as he was a good while before his death. As for that notation of time, *almoſt after all the prophets*, in the *Alexandrian* author of the *Synopſis*, a very learned perſon, and as ancient as *Origen* himſelf, which I have proved above twenty years ago, *Auth. Rec.* pag. 691—701. it exactly agrees to his determination, ſince he himſelf names ſome prophets in his *Alexandrian* canon, not only later than *Jeſus* the grandfather, the author of this book; whom I ſuppoſe to have been one of the ſeventy-two interpreters alſo thirty years before, but then *Jeſus* the grandſon, the tranſlator, as is evident,

evident, pag. 694, 695. tho' your Lordſhip, by confounding the *Jeruſalem* with the *Alexandrian* canon, cannot ſee it: But then, why you ſhould ſo groundleſsly eſteem the hiſtory of *Ariſteas* uncertain, while I have proved it genuine, beyond a poſſibility of reply, above twenty-four years ago, at the concluſion of my *Literal Accompliſhment of Scripture prophecies*, I cannot poſſibly underſtand. If your Lordſtip remember how I formerly ſent you two teſtimonies out of *Tertullian* and *Africanus*, that greatly illuſtrated the date of *Daniel*'s LXX weeks, from the 25th of *Xerxes*; which teſtimonies all the learned had overlooked before; and add this, clearing the date of *Eccleſiaſticus*, by what I now ſuggeſt, you and other learned men will find a neceſſity of re-examining many other of their old notions alſo. I am,

My Lord,

Your obliged humble Servant,

Will. Whiston.

Jan. 6, 1748-9.

The Biſhop's Anſwer.

Mr. *Whiſton*,

I Thank you for your learned *Remarks* on the age of the eldeſt ſon of *Syrach*, which I am at preſent in no condition to conſider, and doubt I never ſhall, my infirmities do ſo multiply and increaſe with my age, that my comfort is, that my life can't laſt long. But while I am on this ſide the grave, I ſhall always remain,

SIR, your affectionate

Friend and Brother,

E. Duresme.

Lyndon,

Lyndon, Feb. 1. 1748-9.

To the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

Mr. *Speaker*,

YOU have long been ſo well acquainted with my affairs, and the circumſtances of my family; I will add that you have all along been ſo very kind to me, and ſo greatly concerned for the misfortunes and troubles that have befallen me, and them, that I think I need make no long apology for this my addreſs to you on our account. You are not I believe unacquainted either with the abilities or application of my ſon *George*, or of my eldeſt ſon *William*. (One, while he was alive, well known to the committee of the houſe of commons, on account of his ſagacity and diligence in their affairs, and on account of his labour in preſerving ſome books remaining from the fire at *Cotton* library.) Neither was you unapprized of the late Queen's kind promiſe to my ſon *William*, when ſhe was Regent, of a place of King's waiter, ſuch as Dr. *Clark*'s ſon now enjoys, worth much about 100 *l.* a year, and how it failed. You alſo know what vaſt pains he and his brother *George* took in learning the *Armenian* tongue, and how much too intenſe application *George* made to perfect the tranſlation and notes of the principal hiſtorian of that nation, *Moſes Chorenenſis*; to ſuch a degree indeed, in a weak and valetudinary conſtitution of body, as has for ſeveral years rendered him uncapable of hard ſtudy, and of moſt employments, otherwiſe befitting his learning and capacity. You will alſo ſoon know, upon the publication of the *Memoirs of my own Life*, what a ſtrange diſappointment I and my family long ago met with in the affair of Dr. *Turner*, prebendary of *Ely*, and the generous regard I had to him, which occaſioned

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my own loſs of full 1200*l.* and the increaſe of his benefaction to clergymens widows and orphans, of 5000*l.* You will alſo there know of my voluntary augmentation of a living I once had with 20*l.* a year, which in my late diſtreſſes I might legally have kept all my life. So that you cannot but be ſenſible the public is under ſome obligation, if not to me, in my old age, now I am going out of the world, yet to my family, or rather to my ſon *George* in particular, who alone of my children is hitherto wholly unprovided for.

Upon this occaſion therefore, Mr. Speaker, you will give me leave to make my addreſs to yourſelf, and ſuch of my other friends as may have it in their power to aſſiſt me, and procure ſome employment or place for my ſon *George*, that may be eaſy and advantageous to him; and that without burdening him with what his nerves will not at preſent bear. Now ſuch a place of 100*l.* a year has been lately vacated, by the death of a very worthy man, and a very good ſcholar, Mr. *Say*, to whom the Queen herſelf gave the place of *keeper of her own library*; and which I verily believe, were ſhe now alive, ſhe would not have denied me for my ſon *George*. I have indeed been informed that this place has been ſuppreſſed, ſince Mr. *Say*'s death, without any direct intention of filling it up again; yet do I humbly hope, the foregoing circumſtances conſidered, that 'tis not too late to apply for its being reſtored and given to my ſon: Which is what I earneſtly beg of you, and all my other friends to whom copies of this letter are ſent, to endeavour at this time. I am,

SIR,

Your Old Friend and
Humble Servant,
WILL. WHISTON.

N. B.

N. B. Of this Letter were copies ſent to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; the Lord Chancellor; the Duke of *Newcaſtle*; and Mr. *Poyntz*.

About the year 1746 I remember I once ſtep'd into *Lincolns-Inn* Hall, and found the preſent Lord Chancellor with his court about him, hearing cauſes. One of thoſe preſent knowing me, and wiſhing me well, ſaid to me, Mr. *Whiſton*, I hope you have no buſineſs here. I reply'd, No: But I added withal, That if the Lord Chancellor would determine cauſes by the laws of God, inſtead of the laws of men, I would come and hear him. Nor do I deſire better chairmen for the *Society for promoting primitive Chriſtianity*, which I am endeavouring to revive, than thoſe worthy perſons, who have been long uſed to moderate in the moſt eminent public ſocieties of this nation: The houſe of Lords, the houſe of Commons, and the Royal Society, to be the chairmen or moderators there: Which I cannot but eſteem of vaſtly more dignity and conſequence than the other. And ſince I verily believe Providence is, in an extraordinary degree, now interpoſing in the affairs of the world, and beginning to ſet up the *Millennium*, or the kingdom of our Lord *Chriſt*, who is *King of kings and Lord of lords*; I cannot but believe ſuch employment will be a greater honour to them, even in this world, than thoſe they have at preſent, how honourable ſoever.

In the year 1747, on the ſecond *Sunday* in *Advent*, a moſt remarkable ſermon was preached at *Dublin*, by Mr. *Hort*, chaplain to the Archbiſhop of *Tuam*. Sold by Mr. *Reeve* at *Shakeſpear*'s Head, near *Serjeant*'s-*Inn*, *Fleet-ſtreet*. It is *On the glorious Kingdom of Chriſt upon Earth, or the* Millennium: Which I heartily recommend to the peruſal of the inquiſitive. Only a miſtake of the preacher

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in the *Preface*, pag. 9. is to be corrected; where for want of conſulting the original *Greek*, and by following our *Engliſh* verſion, he twice cites 2 *Cor.* xii. 4. as if St. *Paul* was caught *up* into Paradiſe, and thence concludes that Paradiſe is *in ſome region above us*; contrary to the plaineſt evidence, that when our Saviour was to be with the penitent thief, during his continuance in *Hades* or in *Paradiſe*, Luke xxiii. 43. he was to be in the *lower parts of the earth*, Epheſ. iv. 9. See *Sacred Hiſtory of the New Teſtament*, vol. v. pag. 296, 297.

Memorandum, That on *Tueſday*, *April* 28, 1747, *Samuel Collet*, my moſt intimate Chriſtian friend, informed me, at *Great Marlow*, that his brother Governor *Collet*, aſſured him from Sir *Peter King*'s own mouth, who was one of my council in the Court of Delegates, that when none of the Judges would agree to a ſentence againſt me, in that cauſe of hereſy, the reſt of the court conſiſting of biſhops and civilians, were reſolving to proceed without them: Till Sir *Peter* told them, we ſhould then proceed *againſt them*, and ſue them to a *Premunire*, which ſuch a ſentence would incur: Upon which they deſiſted. This remarkable paſſage I had never before heard of; but being ſo very material, and ſo fully atteſted, I could not but add it in this place, and leave it to the reader's own reflections.

Memorandum, That on *Whitſunday* morning, *June* 7, 1747, I called to mind a very remarkable prophecy of *Iſaiah*'s, concerning the reſtoration of the *Jews*, lx. 9, 10. *Surely the iſles ſhall wait for me, and the ſhips of* Tarſhiſh [the Mediterranean ſea, *Jonah* i. 3.] *firſt, to bring thy ſons from far, their ſilver and their gold with them, unto the name*

of the Lord thy God, and to the Holy one of Iſrael; becauſe he hath glorified thee. And the ſons of ſtrangers ſhall build up thy walls, and their kings ſhall miniſter unto thee, &c. Which clearly implies, that the *firſt return* of theſe *Jews* ſhall be by *ſhips*, paſſing along the *Mediterranean*, from *remote* iſlands: Which agrees to no nation ſo expreſly, as to the *Britiſh* nation, joined probably by the States of *Holland*, their near ally and neighbouring maritime power. For as to ſome other nations, that have ſhips in the *Mediterranean* alſo (and cannot be gone to from *Judea*, but by ſea, and ſo are included under the *iſles* of the ſea, as is well known) ſuch as the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*, they are ſo little diſpoſed for affording the returning *Jews* ſuch kind aſſiſtance, that they ſtill ſupport that vileſt of courts, the tribunal of the inquiſition; and perſecute, nay, ſometimes burn the *Jews* for their religion; and the former of them does it as near to a port of our own, at the iſle of *Minorca*, and under the eye of our governors or admirals there alſo; as Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* informed me long ago, from his own eyes. Which permiſſion of that horrid barbarity, ſeems to me utterly unworthy of a Chriſtian and proteſtant Government.

I ſhall here add a melancholy, deeply melancholy reflection, on the wretched and profligate ſtate of our nation at preſent, which moſt evidently forebodes ſome ſuch *great and amazing Judgments*, as I declared in my letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Jan.* 23, 1747-8, already ſet down, pag. 407. *I did fully and ſuddenly expect upon the moſt authentic evidence* [of ſcripture prophecies.] I ſay, as a ſpecimen only of our wickedneſs, ſuch as is noted in that ſeaſonable and excellent ſermon preached at court, *December* 11, 1748, by Dr. *Cobden*, with relation to the horrid guilt

guilt of fornication and adultery, and even worſe crimes of that nature; which as he truly affirms, are riſen, perhaps, to a greater height, and ſpread to a wider extent than was ever known in former ages. Inſomuch that the two ſexes ſeem to vie with each other, which ſhall be moſt forward in diſregarding all rules of decency, and violating the ſanctions of the marriage contract. It would not become me, ſays he, to mention ſome of thoſe monſtrous and unnatural obſcenities, with which our land hath been ſtained. They would be offenſive indeed to the ears even of a modeſt heathen.—If we conſider fornication with the unprejudiced eye of reaſon, before the paſſions have corrupted the judgment, I am perſuaded there are few ſins which people condemn more in their own breaſts; which they commit at firſt with more reluctance, and recoilings of conſcience, and which upon cool reflection fills them with more horror and keener cenſures of their own conduct.—'Tis well if the female offender does not endeavour to ſcreen herſelf from cenſure, by the commiſſion of a more dreadful ſin, in the murder of a ſpurious infant; and diſcard the bowels of a mother, to avoid the ſcandal of being known to be one.—Conſidering how many ſeducers, eſpecially in this corrupted city, lie in wait to entice women from the paths of peace and virtue, they cannot be ſecured againſt them by too watchful an education; nor can we be too earneſt in our cautions that they would eſcape as *Lot* did out of *Sodom* for their life.—But to endeavour to alienate the affections of a woman from her huſband, is an injuſtice, complicated with the foulеſt baſeneſs, and attended with the moſt aggravated ingredients of cruelty: An injuſtice for which no recompenſe can poſſibly be made.—'Tis a ſin ſo abominable in its own nature, and ſo tragical in its conſequences, that there

is no thinking of it without horror.—Whole nations have felt the dismal effects of it. And would it not become us, in order to prevent our ruin, to enquire whether the judgments we of this nation have lately suffered, have not, in some measure, been owing to the encrease of the sins of uncleanness, together with those of every other kind among us? Whether the contagious distemper, still raging among one part of the brute creation, appointed for our food, be not an awakening call on us to a general repentance? without which we have too much reason to expect that God will be *avenged on such a nation as this.*—— It highly imports us therefore to fly all opportunities and temptations to immodesty.—To avoid all filthy communication, and the reading such books as are filled with stories of infamous gallantry, and to abstain from such dramatic entertainments as are an offence to good manners, and enflame the impurer passions: But more especially to fly from those fashionable assemblies, which seem calculated for no other end but to promote the purposes of lewdness: Assemblies so very low and ridiculous, that they are not more a snare to virtue than a reproach to common sense.

As to myself, I confess the sense of guilt seems to me so very terrible, and the fears of the fatal consequence of wickedness appears to me so ghastly and affrighting, that I cannot imagine how such as live in adultery, or the like flagrant vices can sleep a single night in peace, while they cannot but know that they may be in another world before morning.

But before I conclude, I must give some account of Dr. *Collet*'s very serious and seasonable Address to the *Jews*: Or, a Treatise of their future Restoration. Printed for *G. Trear*, at the *Bible* in *Ludgate-street*, near *Temple-bar*, 1747. This book,

book, tho' containing, I think, many miſtakes, which want to be corrected, does yet give a particular and well atteſted account of the goodneſs of the country of *Judea*, and of the *Jews* future happy condition there, upon their reſtoration, when the Meſſiah will eſtabliſh his kingdom at *Jeruſalem*, and bring in the laſt glorious ages. He alſo therein, pag. 53, gives us an accurate plan of the city and ſuburbs of *Jeruſalem* when it is rebuilt; with the Prieſts and Levites, and Princes portions, according to *Ezekiel* xlv, xlvi. wherein, I confeſs, he has corrected an error that I and others had run into, as if the temple was to be built in the midſt of the city itſelf; whereas he juſtly, I think, determines it will be very near, but not within the city, either on the north or ſouth ſide. And if the author expected the reſtoration of the *Jews* fifteen years too ſoon, it was by following our preſent copies of *Daniel*, in the date of the famous 2300 days or years, viii. 1, 14. which I had diſcovered twenty-five years ago to be a groſs miſtake, I mean, of the 3d of *Belſhazzar*, inſtead of the 1ſt of *Darius* the *Mede*. See my *Literal Accompliſhment of Prophecies*, pag. 106, 107, 108. Which addreſs therefore I cannot but heartily recommend to the reader's careful conſideration at this time.

I could eaſily add a great many other paſſages in the courſe of my long life; but that I may not render this account too large, and of too great a price, I forbear. Only I deſire my reader to obſerve that I have ſaid very little of the *Royal Family*, for peculiar reaſons.

To conclude the whole: If it ſhall appear at length to any number of Chriſtian people, as I verily believe it will, that I have been enabled to direct them in a great number of points of the

greateſt

greateſt importance to the *good and the right way*; 1 *Sam.* xii. 23. to ſhew them thoſe *old paths* of Chriſtianity, which when they ſhall walk in, they ſhall *find reſt unto their ſouls*; Jer. vi. 16. I ſhall earneſtly beg this one favour at their hands, that they will not be ſo haſty and ſo weak, as to take from me any *tares with the wheat*; that they will not raſhly follow me in any *errors*, becauſe I may have been ſo happy as to lead them into many momentous *Truths*. This has been the great miſfortune of ſeveral *good Men* hitherto; of ſeveral that, for the very ignorant ages and places in which they lived, might be eſteemed great men alſo: Such as *Wickliff*, *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Cranmer*, *Knox*, *&c.* who having been made happy inſtruments in the hand of God, for the correction of ſeveral groſs errors, in doctrine and practice, which had long prevailed under Antichriſt, their followers ſoon became ſuch fooliſh admirers of them, as to adopt their *errors*, which were ſtill not a few, together with their truths. Nor is there ſometimes any other ſure original foundation for ſeveral peculiarities among the *Wickliffiſts*, *Lutherans*, *Calviniſts*, the churches of *England*, *Scotland*, &c. at this day, but that thoſe their firſt reformers, in times and places of great ignorance, as already intimated, happened to entertain thoſe peculiar opinions. 1 *Cor.* i. 12. 1 *Clem.* §. 47. *One ſaid*, not, *I am of Paul*, or *I of Apollos*, or *I of Cephas*, the original apoſtles, or preachers of Chriſtianity, in the firſt century; but, *I am of* Wickliff, *I am of* Luther, *I am of* Calvin, *I am of* Cranmer, *I am of* Knox, &c. in the fourteenth or ſixteenth centuries. While yet they all knew that they ought to have imitated *Paul* himſelf, and every one with the ſame voice, have ſaid, *I am of Chriſt* only. Now in order to prevent any ſuch great

great unhappineſs in my own caſe, I have taken the pains by repeated peruſals, to make a careful and entire review of my ſeveral writings, tho' they be very numerous hitherto; and to correct the principal, if not all the miſtakes, which I have myſelf diſcovered in them, in the courſe of fifty-three years ſtudy; many of which are quoted and corrected in theſe *Memoirs:* That ſo, if poſſible, I may not be guilty of wilfully, or even negligently miſleading honeſt Chriſtians in any thing of conſequence whatſoever. And I ſeriouſly inſiſt upon it, that the ſame method of *Review* and *Correction*, of freſh *Examination* and *Emendation*, be ever followed by all good Chriſtians. That Chriſt Jeſus alone, the *author and finiſher of our Faith*, Heb. xii. 2. with his holy apoſtles, and their companions, or immediate ſucceſſors, be ever in their eyes in all their attempts for reformation, till the ſeveral miſtakes of frail and mortal men being utterly rejected, Chriſtianity, *true*, *pure*, *and primitive Chriſtianity*, may at length be diſcovered and ſettled entirely, *upon the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the head corner ſtone.*

N. B. I ſay nothing here about my own interlined bible; nor of my additions prepared for a new edition of *Grotius*, of the truth of the Chriſtian religion or the like collection of ancient teſtimonies to the confirmation of the Bible and *Joſephus*, mentioned in the firſt Index to my *Joſephus*, becauſe they were never brought to perfection; and can hardly be expected to be brought to perfection at this age by myſelf. If any other fit perſons would undertake to perfect them, I would willingly communicate what I have done already to them.

And now I heartily bleſs the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who has enabled me under a very valetudinary conſtitution of body, by his bleſſing on my ſtudies to go through ſuch labour and finiſh ſuch a number of books for the advantage of ſacred learning and true religion; and yet not to have my ſtrength either of body and mind ſenſibly impaired at this age. And I heartily pray to his Divine Majeſty, that all I have done may tend to the glory of his great Name; the good of his church and people, and the rendring up my account with joy in the day of the Lord *Jeſus*. That I may ſtill perſevere to *fight the good fight*; *to finiſh my holy courſe*; *and to keep the Faith*; *that ſo at length may be laid up for me a Crown of righteouſneſs, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, may give me at the great day*; and not to me only, but to all other good Chriſtians, *which love*, and wait for *his glorious appearing*. Amen.

I conclude the whole with that *ſolemn wiſh* of my own the *ſeventh* time, which I have already repeated *ſix* times before, to no purpoſe, and that in the ſame words, and with the ſame ſincerity as formerly. O that I might live to ſee that happy day here in *Great Britain*, when public authority, eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, ſhould depute a committee of learned, impartial, and pious men, with this commiſſion, that they diligently, freely, and honeſtly examine her preſent conſtitution in all its parts, and bring in an unbiaſs'd and unprejudiced account of her defects and aberrations, whether in doctrine, worſhip, or diſcipline of all ſorts, from the primitive ſtandard, in order to their effectual correction and reformation! Then would our *Sion* be indeed *a praiſe in the earth*; the darling and pattern of all other proteſtant churches, and ſo become the foundation and centre of their unity,

unity, love and peace, and thereby moſt effectually *haſten the coming of that* glorious *day of God*, 2 Pet. iii. 12. when, according to our Lord's moſt ſure promiſe, and that of the Father alſo, *we look for new heavens and a new earth*; a new and better ſtate of the church here on earth; *wherein righteouſneſs will dwell*, ver. 13. till it end in the glorious *Millennium*, the kingdom of our Lord, advanced to its higheſt perfection, and ſpread over the face of the whole world, till the conſummation of all things.

July 2, 1749.

WILL. WHISTON.

ADDENDA & EMENDANDA,

To the Sacred Hiſtory *of the* Old Teſtament.

PAG. 33. Line 18 add, *N. B.* This Rock is mentioned by the oldeſt travellers, as there when they travelled, as well as it is there now, as Dr. *Shaw* informed me. It is alſo too large to be brought thither by any mechanical contrivance, either then, or now known in the world; it being near a cube of 18 feet, or almoſt of 500 ton weight. It is alſo of that prodigious hardneſs, as almoſt intirely to defy the chiſſel; inſomuch that Dr. *Shaw* believes the *Monks* there, to whom ſome have been willing to aſcribe them, could not make one large and deep hole in it with a chiſſel in a hundred years. See my Note on *Joſephus Antiq.* x. 11. 7. This rock, as the Doctor alſo informed me, lies at no more diſtance from the main rock or Mount *Horeb* itſelf, than eight or ten yards. Now the difficulty that appears upon comparing this ſmaller rock, with *Moſes*'s account, [See Dr. *Shaw*, pag. 350, 352.] is this, that it is ſeparate from the main rock; while that which was ſmitten by *Moſes*, ſeems to have been united to it, or a part of it, and not a ſeparate rock as this is. Now this difficulty is taken away by the hiſtory of the prophet *Elijah*, 1 *Kings* xix. 7, *&c.* where he, after travelling in the ſtrength of one double meal, forty days and forty nights, came to this *Horeb the Mount of God*;—and where *the Lord paſſed by, and a great and*

and ſtrong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord: — and after the wind an earthquake. Now it ſeems to me highly probable, that at this very wind and earthquake, this leſſer rock was ſevered from the greater, as it appears to have been ſome time or other, and thence it is that it lies no farther from it. Nor is it any wonder that thoſe that ſee it, as the Doctor ſays, are ſo greatly affected at the ſight of it, as of an illuſtrious and undeniable teſtimony of the truth, of ſo very ancient and wonderful a miracle, related in the *Pentateuch*, at this day.

To the *Sacred Hiſtory of the New Teſtament*, pag. 178. line 34. add,

N. B. What *Paul* ſays to the *Jewiſh* converts in his epiſtle to the *Romans*, about original ſin; about the prevalency of that original ſin or corruption in himſelf, at leaſt while he was unregenerate; and about election and reprobation, in his fifth, ſeventh, and ninth chapters, ſeem to have been no part of Chriſt's revelation to him; but rather certain reaſonings of his own, accommodated to the weak *Roman Jews*, at that time only. My reaſons follow:

(1.) *Paul* himſelf confeſſes, 1 *Cor.* ix. 20, 22. that, *To the Jews, he became as a Jew, that he might gain the Jews: To them that are under the law, as under the law, that he might gain them that are under the law*, and that directly. *To the weak he became as weak, that he might gain the weak.* Theſe teſtimonies of his own give us the greateſt reaſon to expect ſuch condeſcenſion and accommodation ſometimes in his writings to the *Jews* as theſe before us; and which we meet with chiefly in him, and his companion *Barnabas*, and that with relation to *Jews*, and them only. Nor if we compare *Paul*'s admirable and moſt rational ſpeech to the learned

learned *Athenian* philoſophers, *Acts* xvii. 22—31, with theſe ſtrange and weak reaſonings, to weak *Jews* at *Rome*, in theſe chapters before us, ſhall we be diſpoſed to believe otherwiſe of their author, than of a very great and wiſe teacher, treating theſe very different people, in a very different manner; and accommodating himſelf to their different capacities and notions; but ſtill for their own edification and ſalvation.

(2.) *Paul* might do this the rather, becauſe he never appears to have deſigned ſuch occaſional epiſtles as this to the *Romans* for ſyſtems, or ſtandards of Chriſtianity to the churches; which indeed had been long before ſettled upon ſurer foundations, and fuller inſtructions; as they ſtand in the only authentic ſyſtem of Chriſtianity, the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions:* How weakly ſoever the later ages have laid them in great meaſure aſide, and drawn moſt of their darling opinions from their own interpretation of *Paul*'s epiſtles, and principally of this his very obſcure epiſtle to the *Romans*.

(3.) The original compleat catalogues of the fundamental doctrines of Chriſtianity; near to which ſuch as theſe have been long ſuppoſed to be, I mean thoſe delivered to the twelve Apoſtles by our Saviour himſelf, in the forty days after his reſurrection, in the *Catholic Didaſcaly* of the ſixth, and contained alſo in the Baptiſmal Creed of the ſeventh book of thoſe Conſtitutions; while *Paul* himſelf informs us, that what he received from Chriſt afterward in all things agreed with them, *Gal.* ii. 1—9, have not a ſyllable of theſe notions, but rather the contrary; I mean they contain the rational doctrines of the freedom of human actions; and of God's dealing with men according to their works only, and not according to election and reprobation.

(4.) *Paul*

(4.) *Paul* himſelf, in all the reſt of his epiſtles, thirteen in number, ſeems to have no ſuch opinions; but ſtill to deliver very different doctrines; as the freedom of human actions, and of God's dealing with men according to their works only, without regard to election and reprobation, as is very evident on their peruſal. So that there muſt have been ſome particular occaſion for theſe particular reaſonings in this epiſtle to the *Romans*, which had no place in his other epiſtles.

(5.) *Paul* ever diſclaims all authority in himſelf, as well as in the other Apoſtles, for delivering Chriſt's religion any otherwiſe than they received it from Chriſt himſelf; which authority he does not in the leaſt pretend to in any of theſe chapters. He blames the *Corinthians* for *following* either *himſelf*, or *Apollos*, or *Cephas*, *i. e. Peter*, in any ſuch ſeparate manner; and aſſures them they ought to *follow Chriſt* only, 1 *Cor.* i. 12, *&c.* and iii. 4, 5. He alſo, more diſtinctly than any of the reſt, obſerves what he had from Chriſt, and what were his own opinions or directions, 1 *Cor.* vii. 10, 12, 25, 40. The former of which he inſiſts on as intirely obligatory to every Chriſtian; but the latter as not ſo.

(6.) None of *Paul*'s companions, *Luke* or *Timothy*, or *Barnabas*, or *Clement*, or *Hermas*, remains of every one of which are ſtill extant, have any doctrines of this nature, but rather the contrary every where; as is obvious on their peruſal alſo.

(7.) *Peter* himſelf, in the Recognitions of *Clement* I. 17. II. 33, 34. (a work of the firſt century. See *Sacred Hiſtory of the New Teſtament*, pag. 373.) ſuppoſes that he might be ſometimes overcome in diſputation with *Simon Magus*, yet ſtill without any impeachment of the truth of Chriſt's religion, of which he was a preacher.

And

And that the Apoſtles themſelves had not the leaſt authority to add to, or alter that religion; but were only to deliver what they received from Chriſt himſelf, uncorrupted and unaltered to all the churches. (He indeed ſeems to have known of no other *Calling and Election*, than might be *made ſure* by mens own diligence, I. 10.

(8.) The ſame *Peter* gives us a particular caution, 2 *Pet.* iii. 16. about *ſome things hard to be underſtood*, in *Paul*'s Epiſtles, even in the apoſtolical age itſelf; and which *the learned and unſtable wreſted, as they did the other Scriptures, to their own deſtruction.* Poſſibly *Peter* might have theſe chapters in his eye, among others; and might include the errors thence ariſen, when, in the verſe following, he bids good Chriſtians *beware leſt they alſo being led away with the error of the wicked, fall from their own ſtedfaſtneſs.* Which caution *Auguſtin*, and *Calvin*, and their followers, eſpecially the ſynod of *Dort*, ſeem to have quite diſregarded, to the unſpeakable miſchief of the church of Chriſt. So far however ſeems to me undeniable, that all *Paul*'s companions, nay all the companions of the other Apoſtles, with the other Apoſtles themſelves, nay indeed almoſt all catholic Chriſtians, till the days of *Auguſtin*, either entirely underſtood *Paul*, as not meaning what they think they find in theſe chapters, or elſe they had no regard to what he there ſaid about ſuch abſtruſe matters at all; but always went upon the plain principles of common ſenſe, natural religion, and their original Chriſtianity; while yet theſe *Calviniſts* ſtill think the like *Jewiſh* reaſonings in *Barnabas*, *Paul*'s own companion, of almoſt no authority at all: Which yet is no other than a great degree of prejudice and partiality.

But

But if, after all, any think that this my opinion takes away the ſtrict *Inſpiration* of *Paul*'s Epiſtles, which they ſuppoſe of dangerous conſequence to Chriſtianity, I confeſs it does imply, that under what degree of *Divine Conduct*, or *Wiſdom* ſoever, *Paul* wrote his Epiſtles, as the *Conſtitutions*, II. 57. and *Peter*, 2 *Pet.* iii. 15. do affirm, yet is that degree to be eſteemed inferior to what ought to be properly called *Inſpiration*; ſuch as the prophets were under in the reception of their prophecies; which proper *Inſpiration* I take to be here groundleſs, and never pretended to by any writers of the *New Teſtament*, excepting the prophetic parts of *Hermas*, in his admirable viſions; and the prophetic parts of St. *John*, in his no leſs admirable *Revelation*. See *Sacred Hiſtory of the New Teſtament*, pag. 122, 123.

ADDENDA to theſe MEMOIRS.

N. B. In the beginning of the year 1716, Mr. *Wilſon*, Archdeacon of *Nottingham*, about 90 years of age, publiſhed a ſmall pamphlet, entitled, *The Wonders of the Year* 1716. It was taken almoſt entirely out of the firſt imperfect edition of my *Eſſay on the Revelation of St. John*, without once citing me, or that Eſſay. The ſecond edition was alſo printed at *Nottingham* towards the end of the ſame year 1716, and dedicated to Archdeacon *Marſden* his ſucceſſor. What corrections ought to be made in this extract will eaſily be learned from the vaſtly more correct ſecond edition of that Eſſay itſelf, printed *A. D.* 1744.

AN ALPHA-

AN ALPHABETICAL

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Mr. *WHISTON*'s LIFE.

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N. B. I deſire the Reader to take notice, that the very learned *Gerard John Voſſius*, in his three accurate Diſſertations *De Tribus Symbolis*, or, *Of the Three Creeds*; that called *the Apoſtles Creed*, that called *the Athanaſian Creed*, and that called *the Nicene* or *Conſtantinopolitan Creed*, with the *Filioque*, has proved them to be all falſely ſo called. That the firſt was only the Creed of the *Roman* Church, about *A. D.* 400. That the ſecond was a Forgery about 400 Years after *Athanaſius* had been dead, or about *A. D.* 767, and this in the Weſt and in *Latin* only, and did not obtain in the *Greek* Church till above 400 Years afterward, or about *A. D.* 1200; and that the third had the term *Filioque* firſt inſerted into it about the time when the *Athanaſian* Creed was forged, and not ſooner, or about *A. D.* 767.

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